



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-156  
Tuesday  
13 August 1991

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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## Congo

### Former PCT Member, Ambassador Forms Party

AB1108075091 Brazzaville Voix de la Revolution  
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Excerpt] A former Congolese Labor Party Central Committee member and a former Congolese ambassador to Ethiopia and Romania, Stanislas Batheas-Mollomb, has just created his own party, the People's Party for Social Democracy and Defense of the Republic. [passage omitted]

## Rwanda

### Third Political Party Officially Recognized

EA0808080091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in English  
1430 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Three political parties are officially recognized in Rwanda. After the national Republican Movement for Democracy and Development, MRND, and the Republican Democratic Movement, MDR, which were recognized in mid-July, the Democratic Social Party, PSD, was officially recognized yesterday, 5 August by the Interior Ministry. The Democratic Social Party had held its constitutive assembly on 1 July and elected its Executive Committee, whose president is Mr. Frederic Nzamurambaho.

### Two More Parties Recognized

EA1008213291 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in English  
1430 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] All the five political parties which had announced their creation have been officially recognized by the Interior Ministry. The Rwandan Democratic Party and the Liberal Party have just been recognized today. The Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development, the Republican Democratic Movement, and the Democratic Social Party have already been recognized as political parties in Rwanda.

### Democratic Movement Holds First Public Meeting

EA1208125091 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale  
de la Republique Rwandaise in French  
1800 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Republican Democratic Movement, MDR, today held a public meeting at the Kigali regional stadium. It is the first among the five political parties so far legalized to organize such a public meeting. [passage omitted]

More than 3,000 people came to the meeting. Most of them wore the MDR colors: red and black. So far, the MDR is without a president; he will be chosen at the first

national congress of the party now being prepared. In the meantime, the MDR is headed by a six-man committee. [passage omitted]

At the meeting, several members of the committee spoke, as did some guests including Donna Murego, a former deputy president of the Supreme Court and judicial counselor at the Ministry of Justice of the first Republic. The MDR meeting was meant to explain the party's goals, platform, and plan of action.

Regarding platform, the MDR brings up the idea of a conference of parties and asks the president of the Republic to implement the Constitution by appointing a prime minister. The MDR also calls for the organization of a sovereign national conference with the objective of forming a transitional government and national assembly.

The Kigali region MDR President Karamira spoke first and explained the purpose of the MDR. He said that the MDR was fighting for liberty, justice, and employment, and that it was a party which welcomed everybody without any discrimination. [passage omitted]

## Zaire

### Prime Minister Addresses National Conference

LD1208164591 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television  
Network in French 1414 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Mulumba Lukoji to the resumed session of the national conference taking place in Kinshasa—live]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, Conference Delegates: I suggest the following method for resuming our proceedings. Following the example of the procedures adopted in other similar conferences, we will first have to pass rapidly through the stages needed to lead us to the election of the final bureau of the conference. These stages mainly involve setting up the provisional bureau of the conference, checking and validating the mandates, and examining and adopting the regulations regarding internal order.

Beforehand, allow me to request the indulgence of each of you for the deficiencies noted so far in the organization of our conference. These deficiencies, which are inherent in any human endeavor, owe their existence mainly to the particularly difficult conditions, which are known to all, in which we have had to prepare this conference. The government undertakes nevertheless to make all the arrangements to allow the holding of our national conference in relatively satisfactory conditions.

To return to the main subject of my speech today, I would like to propose to all the conference delegates the following practical arrangements which will govern the organization of our proceedings during the period preceding the election of the final bureau and the adoption of the agenda. These arrangements are contained in the

document distributed to the conference delegates by the secretariat. So these arrangements are contained in the document that will be distributed to the conference delegates. [repeats] [applause] Since the document will be distributed to you by the secretariat, I could ask the secretariat to read the document in the meantime.

### Articles of Proceedings Read

*LD1208170791 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1416 GMT 12 Aug 91*

[Procedural remarks by Mr. Mananga, member of the Secretariat, at the resumed session of the national conference in Kinshasa—live]

[Text] The provisional bureau: As soon as the national conference opens a provisional bureau is set up; it is made up of the eldest member and two vice presidents chosen from among the youngest members, including a woman. The two youngest members will come from groups different from that of the eldest member. Should there be two people of the same age, the senior will be chosen by lot.

This bureau is to be helped by nine tellers chosen from among the delegates of different categories of participants in the conference.

Article 2 [as heard]: The provisional bureau's task is to get the internal procedures adopted and to elect the permanent bureau. To this end it will set up several ad hoc commissions, in particular one on the verification and validation of powers, on internal procedures, and one on the election of the permanent bureau of the national conference.

Article 3: The provisional bureau gives way to the elected permanent bureau after the latter has been presented and after the verification and validation of mandates.

Article 4: The delegates to the national conference are appointed by the competent party body, association, or institution which they represent. [applause] Their mandates are deposited with the provisional bureau by a letter of accreditation with receipt. The mandates of members deposited with the preparatory commission before the opening of the national conference will be passed on to the provisional bureau with a detailed report.

Article 5: The preparatory commission of the national conference will put forward a list of experts and observers.

Article 6: A detailed report, drawn up by the ad hoc commission on the verification and validation of mandates, will be submitted at the same time as the dossiers for the plenary assembly to examine.

Article 7: During the study of all the dossiers, the commission on the verification and validation of mandates will examine any objection to the appointment of

any member. The objection must be signed by its writers and contain proofs of the irregularity being denounced.

Article 8: The commission will draw up a detailed report which it will submit to the plenary assembly for decision.

Article 9: Any voluntary withdrawal of a delegation to the national conference cannot, in any way, affect the normal continuation of its work. That's all.

### Provisional Presidium Elected

*AB1208202791 Paris AFP in French 1819 GMT 12 Aug 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, 12 Aug (AFP)—The national conference of Zaire today elected a provisional presidium, headed by Pastor Kolonji Mutambay, 76, member of the council of government before independence, at the proposal of Prime Minister Mulumba Lukoji, it was learned in Kinshasa. The other two members of this presidium are an 18-year-old man, Mr. Wa Zabanga, and a 22-year-old woman, Madam Mwasi Kasongo Musa, two unknown persons chosen among the youngest of the 2,000 delegates.

Mr. Mutambay, born on 9 September, 1915 participated in the administration of the Congo from 1950 to 1960 during the last decade of the Belgian colonization. A Protestant pastor of the Church of Christ of Zaire, he presided over the Zairian Senate under the government of Mr. Joseph Kasavubu and was appointed for his age.

The prime minister said Mr. Mutambay "fulfills the criteria laid down by the preparatory commission to get elected to head the provisional presidium since he has professional and technical experience."

The presidium is expected to conduct the debates of the conference, scheduled to resume on 14 August, with the setting up of commissions, the drawing of standing orders, and the election of a permanent presidium. The registration of delegates continued today.

The National Conferences organized in Benin (February 1990) and Congo (February to June, 1991) chose Catholic bishops as chairmen. Togo, where the conference is still going on, also chose a Catholic bishop. The one going on in Niger is presided over by a university teacher.

### Sacred Union Boycotts Session

*LD1308090791 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 13 Aug 91*

[Text] In Zaire there has been another failure at the national conference. The opposition gathered within the the Sacred Union boycotted the plenary meeting yesterday. The opposition thinks it lacks representation and that the conference is infiltrated by the former single party. A provisional presidium was elected, chaired by Kolonji Mutambay.

### **Lukoji Meets With Sudan's RCC Member Khalifah**

EA1008213491 Khartoum SUNA in English 1058 GMT  
10 Aug 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 10th August (SUNA)—Zaire has affirmed keenness to activate its relations with Sudan. Zairian Premier Mulumba Lukoji during a meeting here yesterday with RCC [Revolution Command Council] member, the chairman of the peace and external relations department, Col Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah, also expressed his government's concern with the economic and political developments in Sudan. Col Khalifah, currently on visit to Zaire within the context of a tour to Chad, Nigeria, Central Africa, Uganda, Kenya and Zaire, explained that viewpoints discussed during the meeting were identical and the two sides agreed on the importance of the economic and political unity among African states. Col Khalifah added that the two sides had also agreed to set up a joint committee for security to be in charge of issues related to refugee transportation and other issues that might come up in the border regions between the two countries. As for his meeting with the Zairian premier, Col Khalifah described it as "very successful" and tackled in detail the issues of the Horn of Africa region, the other issues of the continent and the ongoing peace process in each of Ethiopia and Angola [as received]. He indicated that the means for activating the trade protocol between the two countries and works of the joint committees were also discussed. He asserted that the two sides affirmed that importance of respecting the principle of sovereignty of the region's states and non-interference in their internal affairs. Meanwhile, Col Khalifah conveyed a written message from RCC Chairman Gen 'Umar al-Bashir to Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko. Col Khalifah had expressed his thanks to the Zairian government for accepting the establishment of a Sudanese consulate at Isiro city, eastern Zaire. [Words indistinct] on the other hand, Col Khalifah [held] a press conference at (?Ifa Helk), the headquarters of the Sudanese diplomatic mission in Kinshasa, yesterday and reviewed the government's efforts to prevail peace and stability in Sudan. He also gave a detailed exposition to the government's steps in this connection and steps taken to start the peace negotiations between the government and the rebellion movement as well as the economic and political situations in the country.

[Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French at 1630 GMT on 10 August adds, "The prime minister, Professor Mulumba Lukoji, yesterday met the Sudanese president's emissary. The two officials's talks focused on bilateral cooperation between Zaire and Sudan which should be further strengthened."]

### **Further on Visit**

EA108204091 Omdurman Sudan Broadcasting Service  
Network in Arabic 2145 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] Colonel Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah, Revolution Command Council [RCC] member and the chairman of the Peace and External Relations Department, has stated that the National Salvation Revolution had devoted all its efforts to solving Sudan's problems by justice and perseverance. Col. Khalifah expressed his hope that the revolution's efforts in the field of peace would be crowned by success, particularly since the current African atmosphere helps in that.

In a news conference he held in the Zairian capital Kinshasa last night, his excellency called on the African states to enhance cooperation among themselves so that their resources are not plundered.

During the conference, Col. Khalifah expounded on the revolution's efforts in the field of peace, the economy, and agriculture. He said that Sudan was now exporting quantities of sugar whereas formerly it had been importing \$350 million worth of sugar and that it was striving to achieve self-sufficiency in wheat this year.

He said that the approval of federalism and Islamic laws as the system of government had paved the way for success in the current peace initiatives which the Nigerian president, Ibrahim Babangida, is making. His excellency called on the rest of the African leaders, at the head of whom is the Zairian president, Mobutu Sese Seko, to support this achievement.

Col. Khalifah said that Sudan's position of not submitting to all IMF conditions was conclusive evidence of Sudan's adherence to its policy and the independence of its decisions and its nondeference to Western domination.

### **Investigation Commission: 136 Died in Lubumbashi**

AB1208131091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] There might actually have been a massacre at the Lubumbashi University in the night of 11 May 1990. Following a year of investigations, a commission made up of priests and students has now revealed that the commando operation carried out by the Zairian Presidential Guard that night left 136 students dead. The commission has based its assertion on testimonies from parents and other students. Thus, the commission has drawn up a list of 136 names of students killed, a list which it has handed to the Belgian French language television for broadcasting. There is no doubt that these disclosures will have some impact on the Zairian national conference which opened on 7 August and is expected to begin hearing statements on general policies today, according to our special correspondent Rodrique Asseyi in Kinshasa.

## Ethiopia

### Provisional Government's Afewerki Interviewed

EA1208202091 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1630 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Interview with Isayas Afewerki, secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, by unidentified Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea correspondent, on current issues; place and date not given—recorded, Afewerki speaks in Tigrinya with Amharic translation]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] This is our first interview with you since the liberation of Eritrea. We would like to thank you on behalf of our TV and radio listeners for your time. Let me go to the first question. It has only been two months since Eritrea was liberated. What have we done in this short period of time?

[Afewerki] First we should be aware that it has been a very short time. Before I list what we have done so far in this short period, I would like to focus on the current question which is: What is to be done by the provisional government? Since the liberation of Eritrea, the task of the provisional government was to restructure the system of administration in accordance with the current situation. [passage omitted]

The foreign affairs department has been set up within a new structure. [passage omitted] The other department we have restructured is the finance department. We have set up a new structure and formed a new economic planning and coordination department. [passage omitted]

Our first priority was given to the question of relief and we have been working on it, but since the operation was not implemented in accordance with the demand, we have been trying to make the operation successful by reorganizing the system. We have reached an agreement with the foreign donor agencies and we shall see the practicality of this in the future. [passage omitted] The major issue is the reconstruction of the country. Since the country has been destroyed completely as a result of the war, laying the economic foundations of the country requires total commitment and devotion. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You have given us the general picture of the total situation, but can you give us a more detailed picture of the extent of the destruction in order to help us know what our future task is?

[Afewerki] What we must understand is that one needs capital to run the daily economy of the country. Here in

Eritrea, the banks had 500 million birr in the account books, but we only found 60-70 million birr in the banks. The difference is very big. The government needs a lot of money to run the country. [passage omitted]

It is becoming very difficult to transport relief aid efficiently. In general we are in a very critical economic situation, and repairing what was destroyed will require a lot of money and time.

[Correspondent] What steps are being taken to improve the economic situation in Eritrea and the people's standard of living? What steps are being taken by the government and the people?

[Afewerki] The first foundation is agriculture. If our people are not able to feed themselves you cannot survive by depending on relief aid. [passage omitted]

In the industry sector, the government has some plans too. The idea is to sell the medium and small factories to individuals. The other important sector is transport. The initial plan is to return vehicles which were confiscated by the Dergue to their owners, and if we get some capital, we plan to improve the government transport system. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] As you mentioned earlier, there are extensive plans which also need a lot of capital. I do not think these plans can be implemented with our own capital resources. You had stated earlier that out of the 500 million birr that were supposed to be in the Eritrean banks, there is only 50-60 [as heard] million birr. If I have clearly understood your point, all the money was taken to Addis Ababa. What efforts are being made to get the money back, or what are the hopes of getting the money back? As you said, some of the money belongs to the public and should be returned to the people. The second question is even if we do get the money back, it will not be enough to implement our plans. So what are the possibilities of our getting foreign assistance? Are there new developments on these issues?

[Afewerki] On the issue of the banks, there are talks going on with the Ethiopian transitional government. In general, the understanding reached has been positive. [passage omitted]

A long time is needed in order to achieve results. We have concentrated on relief and rehabilitation activities and some important development activities. We have established contacts and we are positive that the capital in question will be secured either in the form of loans or aid. We cannot concretely say that we will have this or that. As I mentioned earlier, we have just concentrated on our own capital resources in order to avoid disappointment in case of delays in acquiring the capital. [passage omitted]



### Ministers Say Multiparty Talks Likely for Oct

MB1008111091 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 9 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Billy Paddock: "Talks Likely in October, Say Ministers"]

[Text] Government, the ANC [African National Congress], and other major parties were likely to start meeting for negotiations as early as October given good faith by all concerned, senior Cabinet Ministers said yesterday.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen is also expected to make an announcement on a multiparty conference at a news briefing today.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development, made up of all the political parties represented in Parliament, also met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multiparty conference.

The Ministers said they welcomed the recent indications by the ANC's national executive committee and its president Nelson Mandela that the two sides were drawing closer.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" to replace the current government was still a major stumbling block.

Viljoen yesterday rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances." But he did accept that some form of transitional arrangements, where other groups such as the ANC were brought into the Cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a multiparty conference, they would find solutions to most of the remaining problems, possibly including some compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government."

Another source said that one helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given them the confidence to now push for negotiations.

Government believed that before the lengthy process of continuous negotiations started, there would have to be a series of ad hoc meetings between the major and acknowledged political parties and organisations.

These parties would include the NP [National Party], ANC, PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Inkatha, Azapo [Azanian People's Organization], the SACP [South African Communist Party], the other parliamentary parties except the CP [Conservative Party] which has so far refused to participate.

At these meetings, the parties would take two or three days to thrash out issues such as the agenda of the

multiparty conference, the number of representatives each party would send to the conference and how it would be chaired.

The major negotiations in the conference would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required and the different groups' schedules that could cause delays, the source said.

The way was clear to get the urgent business of drafting a new constitution on the road now that some of the major obstacles to talks were being removed. These included the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the progress of the peace initiative to end the township violence.

The source said government was ready to start the process immediately and the NP would need no more than a month to fine-tune and fully prepare itself.

President F.W. de Klerk had announced to the world last week that he wanted the talks to start soon.

The NP was based on a federal structure and it was expected that its team of negotiators would probably consist of the four provincial leaders: Finance Minister Barend du Plessis (Transvaal), Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett (Natal) and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee ([Orange] Free State).

There would also be a back-up NP team that would probably include incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Viljoen.

Last week De Klerk Told a news conference that the first item for discussion by a multiparty conference could be an interim government or some form of transitional arrangement. But he made it clear that this had to be within the framework of the current tricameral constitution.

### Talks on Transitional Government To Begin Soon

MB1208135891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1329 GMT 12 Aug 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town August 12 SAPA—Informal talks between ANC [African National Congress] and government frontline negotiators are expected to start soon to put together a viable proposal for a transitional government representing most South Africans.

Diplomatic sources have revealed that impromptu informal discussions between the two main players have already produced positive results and that more structured informal talks seemed to be an imminent next step.

This view was endorsed by senior officials on both the ANC and government sides over the weekend, who

confirmed that the multi-party conference/congress was now a distinctly attainable goal for 1991.

The prospect of real multi-party negotiations and a workable compromise on a transitional government advanced significantly during the week preceding last Friday's [9 August] Ventersdorp skirmish.

In the direct statements of the minister of constitutional development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as in between the lines spoken by leaders in both camps, it became clear that an accommodation between the two main players was decidedly taking shape.

Mr Mandela set two conditions which significantly softened the ANC's earlier precondition of the unconditional resignation of the De Klerk government in favour of an interim government.

Instead, he said, "the modalities of installation and composition (of an interim government) can be a matter for discussion" and that only two principles would be insisted upon: "inclusivity" and an "unambiguous time frame".

Observers and participating strategists on both sides agree that the time frame which suits them best is the shortest possible one. The ANC needs results to prove its correctness in opting for negotiations; the NP [National Party] needs results to beat the constitutional deadline for another round of all-white elections in 1994.

"Inclusivity" is regarded as the name of the game on both sides. All that needs clarification is the "how" of inclusiveness for an interim government. Both agree an interim government must have the support of the majority of South Africans.

Both sides appear ready to make significant concessions on the question of an interim government. The National Party's opposition to it was badly eroded by the Inkatha/UWUSA [United Workers Union of South Africa] funding scandal which injured its own case and swung its major parliamentary ally, the Democratic Party, around to favour an interim government.

The inevitability and proximity of constitutional talks between the government and black leaders has emerged with such force, and the effects of the so-called slush fund scandal so quickly dissipated by actions and events, that the calling of a multi-party conference (MPC) now appears a mere formality.

Both sides attach a degree of urgency to the calling of such a conference but indicate there will be no definite moves until the patriotic front congress (postponed to September 6-8) is over. There is little doubt the ANC will use its contact with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] to obtain their commitment to participation in any interim measures agreed to with the government.

Irrespective of the outcome of the patriotic front talks, there are clear signs the ANC will go ahead with an MPC, even if it has to do so alone, and that back-room machinery could soon start turning the cogs that will set the public process rolling.

Ironically the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], obviously unintentionally, on Friday enhanced the government's position among blacks and gave further impetus to ANC moves to sit down with President de Klerk at the negotiating table. The first major police action since they were assigned a new political head by last week's cabinet shuffle has shown the force as capable of acting decisively against what must be regarded as its "own people".

With the UN High Commissioner for Refugees overseeing the return of the last exiles and the two security ministers removed from their portfolios as demanded in the ANC ultimatum, the movement appears to have scored reasonably well in setting a favourable table for talks with the government.

Further demands, unless the unforeseen once more scrambles the cards, are not likely to delay the process any longer and any postponement of the multi-party talks can be safely attributed to hitches in back-room positioning to ensure that the public exercise succeeds.

## Reportage on, Reaction to Violence in Ventersdorp

### Right Wing Blames De Klerk

MB1108141691 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 11 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Kitt Katzin and Graham Spence: "Right Threatens Third Boer War"]

[Text] Rightwing leader Andries Treurnicht has warned that the third Boer War has started.

And his view was echoed by other right-wing leaders as the death-toll following the bloody battle of Ventersdorp rose to three. Gerhard Koen, the third right-winger shot as police guarded President F W de Klerk, died yesterday afternoon.

In a hard-line stand during a Conservative Party [CP] conference at Vryheid in Northern Natal yesterday, Dr Treurnicht said they had been "forced into a corner" by Mr de Klerk and had to retaliate with "whatever means possible". He said the CP was against violence, but the Nats [National Party members] had forced their hand.

In an interview during yesterday's conference, which has seen more hard-line rhetoric than any other in the right wing party's history, Dr Treurnicht said the Government's policy of "surrender" had made it imperative for whites to take a militant stand.

"It all started with the squatters at Goedevonden, when the police fired on unarmed white farmers. We are

against violence, but many people are now saying they will never be forced into a confrontation without being able to shoot back. We cannot condemn that; our people will have to shoot back.

"F W claims to be a champion of democracy. But is it democracy when police fire on people wishing to express their dissatisfaction with F W's views?

"We say to F W, you came to Ventersdorp to cause confrontation!

"We say to F W: you are the problem.

"You deliberately ignored all warnings that you are unwelcome in Ventersdorp;

"You needed 2,000 troops to guard you;

"You did not allow dissatisfied people to attend your meeting, and your police force shot at our people."

Dr Treurnicht said that "volk [people] on volk" violence would continue while Mr de Klerk sold the "white man down the river".

Piet "Skiet" ["The Trigger"] Rudolph, secretary-general of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], said: "This gives us not other choice than to get ready for a war which was started by De Klerk against his own people.

"Henceforth, De Klerk will be known among his own people as the 'Butcher of Ventersdorp'."

Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party [Boer Homeland Party], warned that Mr de Klerk had become the Jan Smuts of his time, and would be ousted in the same way that General Smuts was deposed.

Smuts, said Mr van Tonder, turned on his own people by ordering police to fire on them, and now Mr de Klerk had done the same.

In a bitter, emotional statement, Mr van Tonder accused Mr de Klerk of committing "blatant provocation" by going to Ventersdorp in the first place.

"He could have made his speech at any time in Johannesburg or Soweto. He had no business in Ventersdorp and the blood of those who died will be on his conscience for ever."

The Afrikaner (Boere) people, he said, had endured enough of Mr de Klerk's policy of capitulation and the Government's involvement with ANC [African National Congress] cohorts. As far as the Boerestaat Party was concerned there was no chance now that it would take part in negotiations.

"The door has been closed as Mr de Klerk continues to govern behind the protection of police weapons and casspirs."

The country, he said, was heading for chaos and a "state of civil war".

—The final toll of the Ventersdorp battle, according to police and hospital sources: three whites dead and 58 injured: seven policemen, 36 whites, including 12 AWB members, and 15 blacks.

### Editorial on Violence

MB1108173091 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 11 Aug 91 p 22

[Editorial: "Vicious Cycle of Violence"]

[Text] The eruption of violence at Ventersdorp, which has acquired something akin to the status of a capital of right-wing South Africa, comes as no surprise but it carries a sombre warning: those who flirt with violence in this country risk unleashing terrible consequences.

That the right-wingers sought confrontation, and perhaps martyrs, is evident. They are doing precisely what the ANC [African National Congress], when it was frustrated in its political purposes, tried to do: make the country ungovernable. As with the violence of the comrades, only the police (with the army in reserve) can break the vicious cycle of passion, civil commotion, higher passion, and greater violence. It needs to be said that in this case, perhaps the most difficult set of circumstances for young policemen facing their own kith and kin, the police behaved with commendable, if not unflinching, professionalism.

Ironically, the challenge to their professionalism came only hours after Mr Nelson Mandela challenged President De Klerk to surrender control of the armed forces to an interim government. By this morning he must, in his heart of hearts, be wondering if that interim government could handle that police force, and what would happen if, by political ineptitude, it were to make common cause with a right-wing campaign to make South Africa ungovernable.

That said, the political landscape remains entirely familiar. There is no need for a change of course. President De Klerk and his Cabinet have no option but to continue their search for a negotiated settlement, and in that search to try to draw the right-wingers, as well as the left, into a multi-party conference. The police have no option but to try constantly to raise the standard of professionalism, and to make the force properly representative of the entire population. Political leaders of every stripe have a moral obligation—one which falls especially heavily on those who claim to speak from Christian conviction—to condemn violence and to support the police in dealing with it.

Among the questions which arise now is whether many of those who gathered at Ventersdorp, some of them inebriated, are fit persons to carry firearms, and whether their licences to do so should be withdrawn. But, as in the case of Zulu traditional weapons and the ANC's remaining arms caches, the question of disarming the populace is a delicate one, fraught with violent possibilities. It is among the problems that need to be raised at

a multi-party conference where a solution may be devised that deals with all aspects simultaneously.

Beyond this, the police need only to apply the law, and to do so quickly and efficiently. To try to shoot a policeman, or anybody else, is attempted murder; to throw stones at passing traffic is, at the least, assault. If the police did not photograph at least some of the incidents, they have been less than completely efficient, but anyway their task now is to bring charges.

#### More on 'Boer War'

MB1108181091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1711 GMT 11 Aug 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Aug 11 SAPA—The Ventersdorp "Boer War" is a hiccup or at most a bad cough on the way to a negotiated political settlement in South Africa. In analysing Friday night's event historians and political analysts were backed by seasoned politicians in this view, saying the AWB's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] resistance would at worst amount to far less than the World War II's OB (Ossewabrandwag) [Oxwagon Sentry] fight against the "traitor" Jan Smuts and his war effort.

The rebel phenomenon, it was pointed out, was almost becoming a traditional Afrikaner side-show to moments of major change or national stress. Few are convinced the AWB has the potential to match the mobilisation and determination of the near tragi-comic commandos whose horsemen were driven to ground in the Kalahari sands by the motorised forces of (another "traitor"), Louis Botha's government in 1914.

Nor, they say, has the AWB the do-or-die motivation springing from a natural reservoir of malcontent such as seized the Witwatersrand miners in 1922 and therefore there was little likelihood the problem would ever require, as then, bombing and strafing from the air.

The one common denominator the AWB appears to have with the OB, the 1914 rebels and the miners is the predominantly "Super Afrikaner" concept of entitlement to special protection or privilege, and also, being an absolute minority even among their fellow Afrikaners.

If the AWB persists in "going to war" it will also share the same fate as its predecessors—an ignominious end, ultimately outflanked and outgunned by public opinion and the machinery of state. The facts of Friday tell it clearly: the AWB could muster only 2,000 men in its "capital" and then only by heavily importing "troops" from other outlying towns. The hall for State President F.W. de Klerk was packed and the rest of Ventersdorp did not join their most notorious "son", Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, in harrassing the NP [National Party] faithful.

Those who make these "Boer rebel" comparisons however warn against the temptation to become too complacent about the rightwing. Both the government and its major negotiating partners scorn it at their peril.

Although there is a strong school of thought that says the violence at Ventersdorp will drive many conservative Christian Afrikaners away from the AWB, and the Conservative Party for backing it, there are warnings attached.

The militant right, they say, will remain an impotent protesting mob at the door of the negotiations as long as these indeed take place and are seen to be producing results resembling progress towards a just democratic solution.

There was perhaps more than coincidence in the fact that Mr de Klerk called a meeting in Ventersdorp and the AWB gathered its forces to counter him at a juncture where the new and more concrete phase of talks seem imminent. The prospect of real multi-party negotiations and a workable compromise on a transitional government advanced significantly during the week preceding the Ventersdorp skirmish.

In the direct statements of the minister of constitutional development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the ANC [African National Congress] president, Mr Nelson Mandela, as in-between-the-lines spoken by leaders in both camps, it became clear that an accommodation between the two main players was decidedly taking shape. Both sides appear ready to make significant concessions on the difficulty of an interim government.

The inevitability and proximity of constitutional talks between the government and black leaders has emerged with such force and the effects of the so-called slush fund scandal so quickly dissipated by actions and events that the formal calling of a multi-party conference now appears within immediate reach. Irrespective of the outcome of the patriotic front talks later this month, back-room machinery could soon start turning the cogs that will set the public process rolling.

Ironically the AWB, obviously unintentionally, has enhanced the government's position among blacks. The first occasion for police to act since being assigned a new political head by last week's cabinet shuffle has shown the force as capable of acting decisively against what must be regarded as its "own people".

Mr de Klerk was offered an opportunity, which he characteristically seized, to prove once more he is not afraid to stand up for his reformist beliefs—even in the face of the most bitter threats from his own people.

Mr Mandela and his movement, analysts agree, will have to factor in the mood of these bitter people. Though delays and fighting talk may be required at times, the tactics and strategies employed had better leave enough room for steady results to be achieved, ensuring that trust and moderates continue to follow President de Klerk into a new dispensation for South Africa.



### Finance Minister, AWB on Events

MB1108202691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2019 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 11 SAPA—Finance Minister Barend du Plessis on Sunday accused Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement; AWB] leader Eugene Terre'blanche of being responsible for the deaths of AWB members shot dead at Ventersdorp on Friday.

In a television confrontation screened on SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Agenda programme on Sunday night, Mr du Plessis said the AWB leader could have, but did not, prevent the rightwing confrontation with police when the National Party [NP] held a meeting addressed by State President F.W. de Klerk in the western Transvaal town.

"Afrikaner blood (Boere bloed) is on your hands, Mr Terre'blanche," Mr du Plessis said. Three AWB members were killed in the skirmish that followed police action to prevent 2,000 rightwingers from entering the hall where the NP meeting was being held.

The minister of finance, also the NP's Transvaal leader and chairman of the ill-fated Ventersdorp meeting, said police acted only to defend the right of freedom of speech. He insisted the number of NP supporters in the western Transvaal fully merited a meeting in the region and rejected allegations that the NP held the meeting to provoke the right wing.

Mr Terre'blanche responded with indignation at the suggestion he was to blame for the deaths and denied Mr du Plessis' claim the "AWB/Conservative Party alliance" had planned the confrontation several days in advance. "How can you say its my fault when police shot at us. They were issued with live ammunition."

He argued the NP should have allowed rightwingers to attend the meeting. "Democracy doesn't only mean the right to talk, voters must also be given the right to listen." The "misuse" of police at the meeting "pointed to intimidation and predicted death and tragedy", Mr Terre'blanche said.

The rightwing leader claimed to have asked Mr de Klerk several times to open the meeting to all in the week leading up to the event—"to give the people the democratic right to attend".

The AWB had only wanted to pose a few questions at the meeting and to propose a motion of no-confidence in Mr de Klerk. There had been no intention to disrupt the function with violence.

Mr Terre'blanche admitted advising rightwing followers to bring all licenced firearms to the meeting.

"... A disarmed white man in this country—this unsafe South Africa of the National Party—is a dead white man. If a man has a licensed gun then he may carry it." He, however, insisted he had attempted to stop the police

shooting and that the AWB's intentions had been peaceful. Mr du Plessis responded: "Peaceful intent from 2,000 people armed with hunting rifles and shotguns, no sir."

The two men proceeded to argue about which party had attempted to arrange discussions before the meeting on Friday night to ensure proceedings were peaceful. Both took credit on behalf of their respective organisations.

The debate ended with Mr Terre'blanche challenging Mr du Plessis to address a public meeting at which the rightwing would be permitted to ask questions and propose a motion of no-confidence in the government. Mr du Plessis agreed on the conditions that members of the audience arrive unarmed, that no-one sprayed teargas "doom", and that people behave and follow meeting procedures properly. He also insisted Mr Terre'blanche himself undertake to enforce these conditions.

Mr Terre'blanche promised to do everything possible in this regard and said he looked forward to the occasion. "The minister will be given the opportunity to defend a motion of no-confidence passed by the audience."

### DP Spokesman Blames NP

MB1208102091 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0937 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Cape Town August 11 SAPA—The National Party was the last organisation to point a finger at those who showed political intolerance, such as the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members at Ventersdorp, a DP [Democratic Party] spokesman on law and order, Mr Jan van Eck, said on Monday. He said in a statement that the NP had actively cultivated political violence over the past four decades.

In white politics the NP had broken up public meetings by the then United Party, the Progressive Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party] and others, and its members had physically assaulted political opponents. In black politics the NP had used bannings, house arrest, detention without trial, torture, assassinations and death squads to terrorise and intimidate its political opponents. "And now, when they in turn are at the receiving end of the very political intolerance they sowed over more than four decades, they appeal for political tolerance and the right to be heard. What hypocrisy coming from them."

"Until the NP admits to its misdeeds in this regard their protestations will not be taken seriously."

### SACP Blames De Klerk

MB1208112491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0940 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 12 SAPA—South Africa's state president provoked violence in Ventersdorp on Friday in an effort to escape the so-called Inkathagate funding scandal, the South African Communist Party [SACP] alleged on Monday. In a statement signed by the SACP's

Jeremy Cronin, the party asked why Mr F W de Klerk had chosen to speak at "an otherwise insignificant, rural backwater like Ventersdorp at this time?"

Although the SACP upheld the right of all to hold public meetings anywhere they chose, "we are all aware of the delicate transition period in which our nation is involved".

"Did De Klerk go to Ventersdorp to escape Inkathagate?"

"Why were hundreds of heavily armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] supporters allowed to converge on Ventersdorp, with ample warning... of their intention to do so?"

"Why were those publicly displaying weaponry not disarmed before the inevitable deaths and injuries occurred?"

"The brutal reality is that the Ventersdorp affair suits De Klerk. He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that Inkathagate will be forgotten by the world."

Although it did not condone the violence of the AWB, the SACP alleged the state president had provoked the violence and "is continuing to bask in the event".

The party accused Mr de Klerk of gambling with the country's future by "once more conniving in violence".

### Vlok Issues Statement

MB1208192491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1844 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Pretoria Aug 12 SAPA—The SA [South African] Police are presently investigating events surrounding the violence at Ventersdorp on Friday [9 August] night. This was revealed on Monday in a statement by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok who added that various criminal hearings and post-mortems could arise from the investigation.

He said, however, that with regard to certain reports on the occasion, it was important to make known certain facts. "In the preamble to President F.W. de Klerk's meeting at Ventersdorp, information was received which indicated that a possible threat had been made against Mr de Klerk as well as the disruption of public order.

"On August 8, Lieutenant-General Louw Malan personally held discussions with Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], at his office in Ventersdorp in an attempt to defuse the mounting explosive situation.

"Mr Terre'blanche was, however, not prepared to stop a protest march, refused by a magistrate. He also did not want to do away with the intention of attending the state president's meeting, in regard of which the right of admission was reserved.

"Further attempts were also made to defuse the situation through discussions. I personally tried to persuade Mr Terre'blanche two days before the incident that the AWB should not go ahead with its plans.

"Allegations that General (Magnus) Malan refused to hold discussions on August 9 are also a lie," he said.

Minister Vlok said in view of the intended unlawful action and the fact that 6,000 people would attend the meeting, it was felt reinforcements were needed to boost local police.

A further 900 members, under the command of Lt-Gen Louw Malan, were deployed on August 9. They were split into different components:

- coordination of the area around the hall in which the magistrate had banned meetings and marches;
- the security of the hall;
- the safety of access routes along which the president, interested people and residents would travel; and
- the maintenance of roadblocks.

He said these measures were deemed necessary to ensure the effective maintenance of law and order.

Minister Vlok said that during the morning of August 9, the local magistrate had banned all open-air political and protest gatherings in the area around the hall where the state president would be speaking. This ban was distributed in about 1,000 pamphlets in the towns.

"During the course of the afternoon, large groups of citizens, among them AWB members in uniform armed with a variety of weapons, arrived in the town. Later in the afternoon, a meeting was held by these people in the Ventersdorp town hall.

"Also there, copies of the banning order were distributed."

Mr Vlok said after the meeting in the hall, a crowd moved towards the hall where the president was about to deliver his address. The group was armed, militant and challenging, and also shouted slogans.

"In the execution of their duties, the police cordoned off the area around the hall to prevent the protest march reaching the venue," Mr Vlok said.

He said AWB supporters afterwards moved to the police station where a number of parked vehicles, including police vehicles, were badly damaged.

Mr Terre'blanche was later taken by the police to Lt-Gen Malan, where the general was busy talking to CP [Conservative Party] MP Mr van Vuuren.

"Mr Terre'blanche insisted that six people, who had been arrested earlier in the day, should be released. He telephoned me and offered to ask his followers to leave the town should the six be released.

"The people have been released and the legal process will take its course. After this, the situation normalised."

The minister added he could state categorically that AWB supporters were the first to use firearms, teargas and gas canisters.

#### 9 Aug Press Review on Current Issues, Problems

MB0908123791

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

Hani Moves To SACP To Win Black Support for Party—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 6 August in its page 6 editorial says Chris Hani's planned move from the African National Congress, ANC, to the South African Communist Party, SACP, "will no doubt revitalise the SACP, which has image problems as well as trouble in getting the financial support it relied on before the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe entered the period of drastic reform and are no longer able to fund Communist organisations abroad like the SACP. What is most interesting is that Mr Slovo will be replaced by Mr Hani because it is necessary to win Black support." "It doesn't say much for the SACP when it has to judge a man's worth by the colour of his skin—or make the colour of his skin a reason for replacing him." THE CITIZEN further points out that the ANC without the SACP "might be more acceptable to some whites than an ANC in alliance with the SACP."

Brazilian Hypocrisy on Sanctions—"Brazil's decision to maintain economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa is sheer hypocrisy," begins the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 7 August. The editorial refers to Nelson Mandela's visit to Brazil where President Collor de Mello said he hoped to seem Mandela "become 'the symbol of a stronger, involved and racially integrated South Africa'." "No, Brazil, your president has a damn cheek to talk of a racially integrated South Africa when people of colour in your country suffer from racial discrimination."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Finance Minister Lacks Broad Consensus on VAT System—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 9 August in a page 10 editorial says Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has "been snagged by his department's overly technocratic approach to VAT [value added tax]. Business which was consulted extensively, will agree the new tax has benefits over GST [general sales tax] as it removes a tax impediment to spending on capital equipment." But "Du Plessis overlooked the people whose cost of living will increase as VAT is applied across the board. Worse, he failed to realise that in this period of national renewal, major shift in government policy require not only widespread constitution but also broad consensus among the main actors." The Congress of South African Trade Unions's "proposal to zero-rate a broad range of

basic goods and services runs counter to the principle that VAT should be broadly based and thus inherently fair. Nonetheless, Du Plessis might not find it amiss to talk to COSATU and other interest groups with an open mind, ready to explain, negotiate and compromise."

#### SOWETAN

Mandela, Buthelezi Must 'Cool Down' War of Words—"We urge Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela to cool down the war of words between them," declares a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 9 August. "All of us are only too aware of the ghastly implications of a breakdown between them and their followers. A war of words between men as powerful as these can too easily turn into a war of a more violent and bloody kind."

#### NEW NATION

Violence To Continue Despite Shift of Ministers—Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan have been shifted to lower cabinet positions in government, but we of course all know that the sideways shift will not in the least result in any significant change in our situation," says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 9-15 August. "With Malan and Vlok now playing diminished roles, the centre that is orchestrating the violence and the agenda of destabilisation remains in place, and until the centre is exposed, the violence will continue and the process towards democracy will increasingly become tenuous."

#### SOUTH

Criticism of Release of 'Criminals'—Cape Town SOUTH in English for 18-24 July in its page 24 editorial says the government's decision to release over 50,000 criminals, is "by all accounts ill-conceived and poorly-timed." The government's "linkage of the release of dangerous criminals to the release of political prisoners as part of the negotiation process, has quite rightly been rejected by a wide spectrum of people and organisations as cynical and a 'smokescreen'. Fingers are being pointed at the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, for opportunistically linking the release of criminal and political prisoners as a cover to ease the pressure on the country's over-populated prisons." "Emptying the prisons willy-nilly of dangerous criminals into a volatile South African situation, is a recipe for disaster."

#### THE STAR

Inkatha 'Blunder' Could Be Advantageous for Country—"That the ANC should try to seize an advantage from the Government's great blunder over Inkatha should surprise no one," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 9 August. "That this advantage could, potentially, be an advantage to the country as a whole is an unexpected bonus." But "there are too many opportunities on both sides for opportunism. But if, out of the ashes of a

sordid episode, a phoenix does arise that puts the country back on track for peaceful change that is something devoutly to be welcomed."

### CAPE TIMES

**Hani's Job To Gain Support for SACP—**The ANC's decision to release Chris Hani to work full-time to work for the SACP "may well be the SACP's last chance to prove it can survive as a viable political force," states a page 8 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 7 August. "Mr Hani is charismatic and popular, particularly among the youth. He has shown that he is pragmatic, although fully committed to a socialist state. The SACP has no better card to play than Mr Hani."

### CITY PRESS

**ANC Moves Towards Political Party Status—**The ANC's reshuffle of its National Working Committee "is a step in the right direction and shows its commitment to becoming a fully-fledged political party," begins Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English for 4 August in a page 10 editorial. "It was a wise move on the ANC's part to head its negotiating team with a capable man like Ramaphosa. His track record as a shrewd negotiator is well known. That the ANC sees itself as a government-in-waiting can no longer be doubted—and what better time to prepare than now. This should be a lesson to other liberation movements who, if they don't move now, will be caught with their pants down."

### THE WEEKLY MAIL

**Loss of Buthelezi's International Prestige—**If Buthelezi's "loss of international prestige doesn't bother him, Inkatha Freedom Party officials have assured us his rank and file constituency don't mind," points out the page 16 editorial in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 9-15 August. "There is an appalling inference that ordinary Inkatha supporters are too thick to bother that white policemen gave Inkatha a large sum of money to fight what Buthelezi has himself referred to, in sanctimonious moments, as his black brothers. Perhaps what they mean is that with Inkatha's latest showing of two percent in the opinion polls, they don't have much of a constituency to lose anyway."

12 August

MB1208124591

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Call for Government To Oppose Interim Government—**African National Congress, ANC, President Nelson Mandela "should make up his mind whether he wants negotiations or doesn't," states Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 9 August in its page 6 editorial. The ANC "fouled up the State President's peace initiative, it helped to get rid of Mr Vlok and General Malan, it has used Inkathagate to embarrass the government, and now

it makes an interim government its top priority. We have said it, and we say it again, that Mr De Klerk must under no circumstances agree to an interim government."

### THE STAR

**Two Options for Introduction of Value Added Tax—**The portents for the introduction of value added tax, VAT, "are looking increasingly ominous—so much so that either a postponement of the new tax or a reduction in the rate is now not only desirable but imperative," states a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 12 August. There seems to be "uncertainty" about introducing VAT because the "VAT problems facing South Africa are unique. Nowhere else in the world were governments called upon to contend with a Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] demanding pay increases for its members to offset the inflationary impact of the new tax. Nor is Pretoria able to draw comfort from a past situation in which the poor were severely disadvantaged by food price increases stemming from a previous system which exempted these items from tax." "Should VAT fail, Pretoria will have only itself to blame for not having the foresight to anticipate the consequences and for running away from urgent decisions at the finishing post." The government should either postpone the tax until the economy is "in better shape to withstand its inflationary spin-offs," or "reduce the rate by a margin sufficient to head off the widespread outcry that will inevitably result from the currently envisaged 12 percent."

### BUSINESS DAY

**Right-Wing Threat Should Spur on Negotiations—**"South Africa cannot allow the new Boer War, which broke out at Ventersdorp on Friday [9 August] evening, to obstruct its course towards a democratic constitution," warns Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 12 August in a page 8 editorial. "The right-wing threat has been kept in the background by the wider concern of black-white reconciliation, which must remain the priority. But events at Ventersdorp showed the extent to which the fanatical white right is prepared to contest the sharing of political power with blacks." The Ventersdorp events "should be a spur to moderate South Africans of all population groups to end the bickering holding up negotiations, to pursue the goal of a democratic constitution, and then defend it with all the power of the state."

### SOWETAN

**Threat of Third Boer War 'Dangerous'—**The "threat of the start of the third Boer War" by right-wing leader Andries Treurnicht "is petulant, irrational and dangerous," says a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 12 August. "While we know that most mob violence becomes dangerously random, conservatives will always seek out black people on whom to unleash their anger. Other rightwing leaders have echoed Andries Treurnicht's threat. Our peoples' lives and property will be in greater danger from radicals who are unable to fight political battles without resorting to



violence. They are a serious menace to peace, law and order and should be treated like the cowards they are."

#### SUNDAY STAR

ANC, Inkatha Must Stop Insults—"The latest round of fighting between ANC and Inkatha members in Alexandra does not appear to be spontaneous," states Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 11 August in a page 16 editorial. Despite this, the ANC and Inkatha "must learn that violence is no solution and that the wider it spreads, the more difficult it becomes to stop. ANC and Inkatha leaders, instead of trading insults and accusations as they did this week, must begin exploring new avenues to ensure lasting peace. Otherwise the consequences, as shown by the events of this weekend, will be too ghastly to contemplate."

#### DIE BURGER

Criticism of ANC-SACP 'Intertwining'—The shifting of Chris Hani of the ANC's military wing to the South African Communist Party, SACP, "illustrates how untenable the intertwining of these two organizations is," says a page 14 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 8 August. "The harder they try to insist each organization has its own policy, the tighter their embrace becomes." Besides, to use Chris Hani to "polish the image of communism, after it has crumbled worldwide, even in Mother Russia, looks like a losing struggle." "In so far as the negotiation process progresses, the ANC-SACP alliance confusion can reach Babel-like proportions."

#### VRYE WEEKBLAD

Strategies for Future Questioned—Editor Max du Preez asks in his pages 2 and 3 editorial in Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans for 9-16 August: "What is really the F.W. de Klerk-government agenda for our future? To me it does not look at all as if there is a terribly detailed blueprint, but a broad strategy is visible. The one strategy is to bury as many visible signs of apartheid and thereby to win the hearts of the blacks, coloreds, and Indians." Du Preez believes a National Party alliance with groups from the blacks, coloreds, and Indians might garner between 30 and 40 percent of the vote in a one-man-one-vote election. Another strategy would be for the "state, bureaucracy, and the economy to be so manipulated during the transition period so that a new, elected government would ultimately not have many choices." "In other words: a state that is run by a bunch of experts as if it were a multinational company." The advantages of this model are that there are "greater chances for economic growth, stability, and investors' confidence than an form of 'people's democracy' might provide." The ANC's only model so far is a "sort of 'people's democracy'. It contains the risks of a gigantic,

awkward bureaucracy, a Third World economy, and chaotic government, and in the end the undermining of a democratic government itself." Du Plessis believes "a combination of the two proposed models is in the interests of us all."

13 August

MB1308102591

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

Mistake To Ban Afrikaner Resistance Movement—"It is easy to empathise with Nelson Mandela's call for the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] to be outlawed," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 August. "But it would be a mistake to ban it. Just as with other organisations, prohibition would drive it underground, invest it with an undeserved mystique and make it potentially more dangerous." The "full rigour of the law" should be applied when the movement oversteps the mark. "Its leaders should be prosecuted when they preach their pernicious doctrine of racial hatred, and boastfully threaten bloodshed and revolution unless their hysterical warnings are heeded. Their followers should be charged in court when they brandish dangerous weapons. Mr Mandela justifiably blames the De Klerk administration for being too soft on the AWB."

Time for Culture of Human Rights—A second editorial on the same page says the deputy chairman of the Law Commission, Justice Olivier, "believes South Africa may not yet be ripe for the introduction of a bill of rights. We have to agree with his assessment that there is presently 'no atmosphere of respect for human rights among the people'." Yet, "we should start cultivating a culture of human rights here and now, rather than hope it will develop as we move towards democracy."

#### BUSINESS DAY

ANC Army Run By 'Shadowy' Military Council—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 August in a page 10 editorial welcomes the African National Congress, ANC, military wing's chief of staff "assurances that, in a post-apartheid South Africa, armed forces should be answerable neither to any political party nor to the government of the day, but to the constitution. But we fail to be reassured while Umkhonto [ANC military wing] soldiers see it as their responsibility to take political decisions, attempt to dictate who their generals should be, and are run by a shadowy supreme military council not clearly answerable to any civilian structure. The ANC may yet find itself shackled by its own army of liberation."

## Angola

### President Returns From 15-Day Paris Visit 10 Aug

MB1008201091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos returned home today after a 15-day private visit to Paris. The head of state was accompanied by his wife, Ana Paula dos Santos, and relatives.

### UNITA Reportedly Intimidating POW's

MB0908075091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Excerpt] According to two recently released prisoners, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] continues to intimidate prisoners of war in Jamba. We only expressed our desire to return home to the International Committee of the Red Cross because we were afraid of retaliation from UNITA, one of those former prisoners said. [passage omitted]

### POWs' Release To Resume

MB0908205991 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Everything is ready for the resumption of the release of prisoners of war tomorrow. There will be simultaneous ceremonies marking the release of an equal number of prisoners in Luanda and Jamba. A reliable source says that the lists of prisoners to be released in both places contain the names of more than 140 soldiers, including three Air Force pilot officers whose names were not mentioned in the first list submitted by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission]. The source added that between 13 July and 8 August, the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] was able to list the names of 928 prisoners in government hands. During the same period, ICRC experts interviewed (?499) prisoners held in Jamba, including the first 61 prisoners already released.

### 124 POWs Released 10 Aug

MB1008193891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Excerpts] A total of 44 prisoners of war were today released in Jamba, UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] headquarters, in line with decisions made at the last session of the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission]. Four officers, including three pilots, were among those released. Contrary to what the CCPM had planned, the team of government and UNITA experts, accompanied by observers, did not interview the prisoners in order to determine the area in which they intend to settle. [passage omitted]

A CCPM source says that the team was scheduled to interview 266 prisoners whom UNITA says do not wish to leave Jamba because they have joined the movement's ranks. In a simultaneous ceremony today, the government released 80 UNITA prisoners, including seven lieutenants and six second lieutenants. The ceremony was held at the Viana Prison School.

### UNITA Releases 44 MPLA Prisoners in Jamba

MB1108054891 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance  
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and  
Central Africa 0510 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] The second set of prisoner release ceremonies was held in Jamba and Luanda yesterday where 44 people were handed over to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was represented at the ceremony by Interior Minister General Miguel N'zau Puna. The MPLA was represented by Colonel Nando.

### Dos Santos Urged To Secure Prisoners' Release

MB1208132691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Citizen Gabriel Fernandes has asked His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Republic, to secure the release of his uncle, Wilson dos Santos, and the latter's children, wife, and sisters, who are still detained in Jamba. In a letter addressed to the president of the Republic and published in today's edition of the JORNAL DE ANGOLA newspaper, Gabriel Fernandes also appealed for the release of his brother, Tito Chingunji, who has also been detained by the Brigade for the Defense of the State [Brinde], UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] secret police.

In his letter Gabriel Fernandes also mentions the names of famous members of UNITA's hierarchy, namely Jorge Sangumba, Valdemar Chindombe, Leopoldo Chindombe, and Antonio Vakulukuta, whom UNITA has executed by firing squad.

The letter states that Wilson dos Santos joined UNITA when he was studying in exile. In 1974 he was UNITA's representative in Luanda. In 1980 he was UNITA's representative in Lisbon, but in 1985 he returned to Jamba in order to defend the interests of his wife and children who had been detained by Brinde.

### UNITA: RPA Uses State Funds for Party

MB0908063291 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance  
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and  
Central Africa 0515 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] More than half of the RPA's [People's Republic of Angola] general state budget is being used for party purposes. Felix Miranda, Vorgan's [Voice of Resistance

of the Black Cockerel] special correspondent in Luanda, learned this from a reliable source yesterday.

That source said that state funds are being used to buy vehicles and other desirable goods. That source also disclosed that within this context, many media workers have received luxury vehicles to launch an aggressive campaign against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

#### **Cuban Boat Reportedly Steals Fish in Baia Farta**

MB0908065991 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0520 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] A Cuban boat full of fish stolen from the Angolan territorial waters was recently detected in Baia Farta, Benguela Province. Political observers in Jamba say that there continues to be massive stealing of Angolan fish.

#### **MPLA in Huambo To Sell Poisoned Food to UNITA**

MB0908065591 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0522 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Certain military officers in MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-controlled Huambo areas have given orders that only poisoned food should be sold to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. The MPLA's Cuma-based 46th Light Infantry Brigade, in Huambo Province, received orders to give poisoned food to a group of UNITA soldiers on 7 August. [passage omitted]

#### **Troop Confinement Planned for First Half of August**

MB1108194491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Troops from the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] will begin to be confined to specific areas during the first half of this month. The ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY cites a reliable source as pointing out that the process will last 30 days. The government troops will be confined to 27 areas while the UNITA forces will be confined to 23 areas. The process of confining troops has been delayed for more than a month because of problems encountered in deploying verification and control groups.

The confinement of government and UNITA troops will create conditions to begin the process of training a single national army. This process should be completed before general elections in Angola scheduled for the second half of 1992.

#### **UNITA Exchanges Confinement Areas**

MB1208203291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] The Angolan Government has accepted a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]

request to exchange two confinement areas. Under the terms of the peace accords, the UNITA troops should be confined to the areas of Banja and Chiquita, in Benguela and Huila Provinces, respectively. Those two confinement areas have been exchanged for Chingongo and Quilengues.

#### **Logistics Hamper Verification**

MB1208202891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] ANGOP's Benguela correspondent reported today that the verification and control groups in Benguela, Cuanza Sul, and Bengo Provinces are facing serious difficulties in their work because of the terrible logistical conditions of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] armed forces. That problem has been lessened as much as possible with the help of local governments and the logistical services of the Angolan Government Army.

Ten verification and control groups have already been set up in Benguela, Bengo, and Cuanza Sul Provinces. It is expected that the last two groups, which will oversee the confinement of the UNITA troops, will be installed later this week.

#### **Zairian Says 71,000 Refugees in Zaire To Return**

MB1108101891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Mr. Jose Martins, director in the state secretariat for social affairs, announced yesterday that 71,000 Angolan refugees are to be repatriated from the Republic of Zaire in May 1992. Mr. Jose Martins recently visited Uige Province. He was accompanied by a UN team to assess the province's needs in terms of humanitarian aid to the refugees.

#### **MPLA Officer on Cuanza Norte Mine Removal**

MB1308070591 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Correia Vitor, MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] commander for the Cuanza Norte military area, has told Radio Angola that the mine removal process is continuing normally in that part of the country. The joint Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] military groups have already completed the first stage of mine removal from the main roads.

[Begin Vitor recording] I believe the process is going well so far. We are entering the second stage of the mine

removal process. We are paying great attention to certain areas where the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces planted mines during the war, and we have created a joint mine removal subcommission for that purpose.

We are disarming mines in the districts of Banga, Mulongongo, and Samba Caju. The work has been going well so far. There is good understanding between the sides in their work. We think that generally satisfactory conditions will have been created soon. Some 400 antipersonnel and 15 antivehicle mines as well as a number of booby traps have been disarmed so far. Vehicles are traveling from district to district without any problems in the Cuanza Norte military area. Work alongside the railroad has been concluded. In fact, the rehabilitation of the railroad has already begun. Conditions have also been (?improved) along the paths linking villages to plantations.

There have been no incidents ever since the hostilities ceased and we began working on removing mines from the principal routes. [end recording]

Lt. Col. Correia Vitor also told Radio Angola about the confinement of Angolan Government and UNITA troops in the Cuanza Norte area.

[Begin Vitor recording] We are awaiting orders from above for the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA troops to go into their confinement areas. We are working toward that end. The senior command of the armed forces is committed to creating conditions that will help resolve the forces' logistical problems. I can add that an effort is being made in that direction. I do not think there will be any major problems regarding the troop confinement process. [end recording]

### Opposition Official Discusses Peace Process

MB1308074791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Angolan Democratic Forum [FDA] will soon submit to the People's Supreme Court its application for the accreditation of its Constituent Commission as a political party. FDA Chairman Jorge Rebelo Pinto Chicote, who arrived in Luanda a month ago, has finally broken his silence. He told the Luanda Radio Nacional that the FDA will soon apply for the accreditation of its Constituent Commission.

[Begin Chicote recording] The FDA has been carrying out its work normally. I have already given an interview to the ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY on the eve of my return to Angola from Paris. Naturally, when I arrived here I decided to familiarize myself with the situation in the country, as well as our work here. The Constituent Commission will complete its work soon, most probably by the end of this week. We heard reports from a number

of our delegates coming from other areas and we hope to submit our application for accreditation soon. [end recording]

The FDA chairman made a positive assessment of the two months of peace in Angola. He did not, however, fail to express his concern over small incidents taking place throughout the country, particularly the control posts mounted by UNITA troops along the roads, as well as the intimidation of residents.

[Begin Chicote recording] One of the most important issues is to note that there is peace, and that the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] has been carrying out its work. We must admit, however, that there are problems. We hear increasing complaints. We also experienced a problem in Cuanza Sul Province where our representative had to hand a packet of cigarettes at a control post. Accordingly, what we are saying is that we must either create a national institution, which will participate as an observer during the CCPM debates, or establish an institution that will include other emerging political forces so that we too can present our complaints. We have noted that there are either two states in Angola or that there are problems in implementing the Bicesse Accords. We are not clear whether the Angolan Government has authority over certain issues or the agreements signed by UNITA are not being adhered to. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Jorge Rebelo Pinto Chicote was a former UNITA militant. He is now the FDA chairman. Jorge Chicote and other young Angolans left UNITA because of systematic violation of human rights by that movement, particularly its president, Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. The detention of Wilson dos Santos and Tito Chingunji was the straw that broke the camel's back.

[Begin Chicote recording] We left UNITA because of this movement's injustices. We know very well that there are people who are being persecuted. The FDA decided to defend human rights because of the detention of Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos. When we exposed the human rights violations by Dr. Savimbi he promised us in 1989 that Tito Chingunji would be released and people would be able to see him. This has never taken place. The information we have is that these people are in detention. There might be other people who are unable to leave Jamba. Even during the release of the first group of government prisoners, there were some disappointments. UNITA alleged that there were prisoners who had decided to remain in Jamba. This is false. UNITA has been carrying out a number of maneuvers which have not been closely followed by the people. I believe that people will now be able to confirm our statements. In Jamba, people's freedom is a myth. We know very well that there is a dictatorship. In Jamba, Savimbi has not begun to accord people freedom. Jamba features prominently in the violation of human rights. Of course, there has been violation of human rights throughout the country. The government too has violated human rights.



We, as people who were in UNITA, are exposing these violations at the international level as well as here in Angola. If people feel that we are lying, we would like to see the establishment of an international inquiry. We believe that Dr. Savimbi should be charged with crimes against mankind. When we say that there are children like the daughters of engineer Catala and wife who were burned, we are talking about real issues.

We do not recant whatever we have said about UNITA. Whatever we said since 1989 is true and concrete. If we are lying, UNITA will have to prove it. It is possible for Tito and Wilson to appear here as UNITA members. UNITA will never, however, be able to say that these people have never been detained. [end recording]

#### **Council of Ministers Begin Meeting 13 Aug**

MB1308125191 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Council of Minister has been meeting in Luanda since this morning to assess the draft law on preventive detention and procedures. Dr. Carlos Feijo, assistant secretary of the Council of Ministers, gave other details about the agenda of today's session.

[Begin Feijo recording] The agenda includes nine points, notably the draft law on preventive detention and procedures. This law will not repeal the famous Law No. 4/80, but instead will improve on the current law. The session will also discuss the draft law on police searching and detention powers. This law will facilitate the role of criminal investigation agents.

Other documents to be assessed are the draft law on industrial licensing, the draft law on geological and mining activities, and the draft law on state general inspection directorate. The session will also assess the draft decree on the utilization of funds by diplomatic and consular missions and the draft statutes of the National Projects Planning Enterprise which have already been approved by the Economic Commission. [end recording] [passage omitted]

#### **\* Sonangol Announces Discoveries Off Northwest**

91AF1262E Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 25 Jun 91 p 1

[Text] Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company], the concessionaire in Block 2 of the Angolan OFFSHORE, has announced three new petroleum discoveries in test wells off the northwestern coast of Angola.

The first discovery is that of the Espardarte I well, located about 18 km off the coast, with a combined flow of more than 4,362 barrels per day of crude oil, with a density of 34.6 degrees API [American Petroleum Institute formula for expressing density] from a tertiary reservoir.

The well was drilled to a total depth of 3,685 meters, in waters 24 meters deep.

The second well, Albacore I, is located about 7.5 km off the coast. It has a combined flow of 2,700 barrels per day of crude oil, with a density of 34.6 degrees API, from a reservoir of medium "pinda" [porosity].

The well was drilled to a total depth of 3,007 meters, in waters 14 meters deep.

The third well, Chapa I, located about 24 km from the coast, produces a combined flow of more than 2,954 barrels per day of crude oil, with a density of from 36 to 46.9 degrees API, from a cretaceous reservoir of medium "pinda."

The well was drilled to a total depth of 2,225 meters in waters 11 meters deep.

The operations in Block 2 are carried out under a production-sharing contract signed with Sonangol in 1986. Since then, the consortium has been producing oil from the Essungo and Cuntala fields, in the northern area of the block. In 1987, production was initiated in the Lombo Este, Tuberao, Sulele Este, and Sulele Sul fields, in the far northern area. Production in Block 2 is currently about 50,000 barrels per day.

#### **\* Large Amount of Industrial Mercury Stolen**

91AD1262F Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 23 Jun 91 p 3

[Text] Nine 25-kg containers of industrial mercury were stolen on 23 May from the premises of the Cellulose and Paper Company of Angola (CCPA), located in Alto-Catumbela (Ganda Municipio), the Angolan news agency ANGOP learned today (Friday) from reliable sources.

According to eye-witness reports, the theft was perpetrated by unknown individuals, armed and in uniform, who transported the mercury in two Toyota Land Cruisers, one of which belonged to the company director.

The theft occurred at 2200 on 23 May, when armed individuals, carrying all the keys to the factory, neutralized the company's security officers and proceeded to load the mercury in the vehicles.

It is noted that, on 10 May, the same group of men had been at the factory and had asked for the mercury, claiming that they were to transfer it to another location, on higher orders, linked to a supposed visit to the company by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angolan chief of state.

Sources contacted by the ANGOP in Benguela said that industrial mercury is one of the most expensive products on the black market, currently exceeded only by diamonds.

#### \* Four Regional Trade Delegacies Created

91AF1262G Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 25 Jun 91 p 3

[Text] The National Directorate of Trade has announced that authority to inscribe or register importers and exporters has been given to the recently created regional delegacies.

The regional trade delegacies—North, Central, South, and Cabinda/Zaire—were created pursuant to the decentralization of foreign trade activities, as part of the reforms effected in the sector.

Licensing for the exercise of any commercial activity (permit) will now be the responsibility of the provincial directorates and delegacies.

#### \* German Official Comments on Oil, Trade

91AF1262H Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 29 Jun 91 p 12

[Text] From last December to this February, Angola exported \$170 million worth of petroleum to Germany, George Beine, charge d'affaires of the German Embassy in Angola, said in Luanda.

Beine told the Angolan news agency ANGOP that in the same period Angola imported about \$20.5 million worth of manufactured products from Germany.

Regarding German participation in the training of Angolan cadres, Beine said his country had two programs, one for undergraduate and postgraduate courses, and another for technical-professional training.

He said that, along with other European countries, Germany is studying the possibilities for investment in Angola in a wide variety of areas.

#### \* Lumber Industry Paralyzed Since 1987

91AF1262I Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 29 Jun 91 p 12

[Text] Angola has not exported lumber since 1987, the Angolan news agency ANGOP has learned from a source in the National Institute of Forest Development.

According to the source, this is because of the climate of war that has prevailed in the country, as well as the "enormous basic needs of the people" for this product.

Paulo Vicente, national director of the Institute of Forest Development, stressed the need to resume this activity, bearing in mind the reorganization of the lumber companies, linked to the sector which he directs.

The lumber companies in Uije, Bengo, Kwanza Norte, and Malanje were pointed out as having very limited and difficult operations. "Production never exceeded 20 percent of the general plan of 50,000 cubic meters."

#### \* Variations in Prices of Meat Explained

91AF1262J Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 30 Jun 91 p 3

[Excerpts] Based on the report appearing in Saturday's edition of JORNAL DE ANGOLA (24 June 1991) on the rising price of meat, the National Directorate of Inspection of Economic Activities (DNIE), acting within its authority and because there is considerable doubt about the interpretation of the new price system for meat sales, has offered the following clarification.

The retail price to the public for the various meat products at issue should be in accordance with the following figures. The wholesale price [per kilogram] for beef carcasses will be 416.50 NKz [new kwanzas], with general charges of up to 7 percent (29.155 NKz) over the wholesale price.

The unit price (sum of the two figures) is 445.50 NKz. The profit margin is 24 percent of the unit price, or 106.957 NKz, hence the price to the public is 552.50 NKz per kg.

Regarding pork carcasses, the wholesale price is 320.00 NKz, with general charges of up to 7 percent, or 22.40 NKz. The unit price is thus 342.40. With a profit margin of up to 24 percent, the price for sale to the public is 552.50 NKz per kg. [Figures as published]

The wholesale price of imported dressed chicken is 300 NKz per kg. With general charges of up to 7 percent (21.00 NKz), the unit price will be 357.50 NKz per kg. [Figures as published]

The price of prime beef is not controlled, under the terms of Article 12, Decree No. 20/90, of 28 September, published in the DIARIO DA REPUBLICA, No. 43, first series.

The uncontrolled prices are not fixed, nor is the marketing margin.

However, since prices are the monetary expression of the value of goods and services, it is recommended to the economic agents that, although the prices are uncontrolled, they should be calculated on the basis of the provisions of Article 2, Decree No. 20/90, of 28 September, reflecting the cost of production or acquisition, the cost of distribution or circulation, and a profit margin. [passage omitted]

Proprietors of wholesale and retail establishments should have a fully detailed price list of the products posted in a highly visible location, in letters at least 0.5 cm high.

#### \* European Funds To Restore Luanda Electricity

91AF1262B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 23 Jun 91 p 3

[Article by M.M.]

[Text] The dark neighborhood of Rocha Pinto, in Samba, will soon have lights. The project was conceived by the EPEL (Electric Power Distribution Company) in

partnership with the ENCEL [National Electrical Manufacturing Company] and is part of a project calculated at \$63 million plus 13 million new kwanzas [NKz], the object of which is to install lamp posts the length of the highway from the FAPA-DAA to the Futungo de Belas.

Another \$4 million, plus an additional 105 million NKz, is destined for public lighting in the capital city, serving the areas of Cacucaco, Mulemba and Rua Conego Manuel das Neves.

Some \$20 million plus 100 million NKz will be spent on lower Luanda, to complete the so-called "Spanish Project." These funds are allocated, in a first phase, to the zones of Boa Vista, Ilha, and the Cidade Alta.

When the Italian financing comes through, the EDEL directors are thinking of building, over a 20-month period, a substation for the transformation and distribution of electric power in Matumba (city center). This is what is commonly referred to as the "Italian Project," and it is budgeted at \$18 million plus 100 million NKz.

The industrial zones of Cazenga, Nocal, and Boa Vista will also benefit from improvements in the power supply. The funds for this project will come from France, in the amount of 83 million French francs. Thus the name: "Caisse Project."

About 8,000 consumers are anxiously awaiting the fulfillment of their dream.

According to EPEL officials, the economic feasibility study has already been conducted for the rehabilitation of the power system in the industrial zone, to take place in 1992. The company is preparing to open the work contracts to public bidding.

#### **\* Cabinda: Emergency Program Goals Defined**

91AF1293A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 3 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Alberto Coelho]

[Text] Cabinda (from our bureau)—The short-, medium-, and long-range goals to be achieved in Cabinda, which will orient its activity in 1991 and which are planned for the 1992/1993 period, as well as the conditions that should be created by the end of 1993 so that the first five-year plan for 1994-1998 can bring about a real process of growth, based on the betterment and welfare of the population of the province, have already been defined within the framework of the Emergency Program and the Economic and Social Stabilization Plan for the province.

Thus, the Emergency Program drafted for 1991, budgeted at about \$99 million, as well as the Economic and Social Stabilization Plan for 1993, are aimed, above all, to improve the economic, social, organizational, administrative, and financial situation of the province.

The areas to be given priority in a first phase, according to the Emergency Program, are health, education,

housing, energy and water, the improvement of the system for the supply and distribution of fuel oils, lubricants, and building materials, the rebuilding of roads and bridges to permit the free circulation of people and goods, and the improvement of the communications and transport systems, as well as the improvement of the organization and management of the public administration in the province.

The democratic opening in progress in the country will be an important factor in the design and implementation of the development process in the province, because of the greater openness in government and in the public sectors and the engagement of all the active forces and agents in the economic process.

In this context, the development strategy entails making decisions about the use of resources, bearing in mind the pressing needs of the people, and about structural, productive, and social investments.

An important factor in the development of the province, in view of the serious shortages confronting it, including the shortage of basic items (food, clothing, and shoes), has to do with the rational application of funds for the importation of products to overcome the principal shortages and/or the application of resources to create the conditions for the domestic production of these products.

Among other activities to be carried out, we could note that, in the commercial sector, the program calls for restoring, by the end of 1991, the levels of supplies essential to the rural and urban population, with priority to the area of nutrition and diet, and for installing a commercial system in the province based on trade contracts with provinces in the center and south of the country, which would supply salt, dried fish, and meat, in exchange for wood and its derivatives.

Another major objective in this sector is to achieve complete freedom in the marketing system and to create the structural conditions for the exercise of free trade, as well as to create the tax and tariff incentives for the installation of industrial and commercial projects in Cabinda, operating in a free tariff regime.

With regard to the industrial sector, the program calls for the installation of industrial units for the manufacture of bread, clothing, beer, shoes, soft drinks, cutlery, and furniture, and the recapping of tires, as well as the rehabilitation of the Subantando water production unit, the Buco-Mazi soap factory, and the palm oil and tile factories, which have been out of operation for several years.

Activity in the lumber sector will be given great impetus by the execution, under the Emergency Program, of the

existing projects, in which all phases of the processing of wood and its derivatives for the foreign and domestic markets would be concentrated in Cabinda.

In the important sector of agriculture, it is planned to carry out the agroindustrial and livestock projects to guarantee the province's self-sufficiency with regard to corn, cassava, beans, green vegetables, palm oil, soap, beef cattle, goats, hogs, and poultry, and to make full use of the forest resources.

#### • Bank Changes Name; New Banks Established

91AF1293B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 3 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] The People's Bank of Angola (BPA) will very soon come to be known as the Savings and Credit Bank (BPC), a banking source has told the Angolan news agency ANGOP.

The change in the title of the second largest bank in the country is within the framework of the reorganization of the banking sector. The principal facet of this reorganization is the separation of the commercial functions from the National Bank of Angola (BNA), which will concentrate on its primary function, i.e., the emission of currency and management of the monetary reserves.

Thus, in addition to the newly created Agricultural and Fishing Credit Bank (CAP), there will also be the Commercial and Industrial Credit Bank of Angola (BCCI).

These measures are within the framework of the new economic policy which the government is seeking to establish in the country, the transition from a centralized and state controlled economy to a market economy with emphasis on the private sector.

The BPA has been in existence since the country became independent, along with the BNA, and its primary task is to insure the savings deposits of the citizens.

#### • Uije Coping with Displaced Persons, Refugees

91AF1293E Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 7 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by David Filipe]

[Text] Uije (from our correspondent)—Elisio Jose, provincial delegate of the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs, said a few days ago in this city that the shortage of food and manufactured goods for the displaced people and war refugees had led his sector to take various actions last year.

The limited quantities of goods received by the provincial delegacy from the central structures have not been adequate to take care of the 45,092 people displaced by the war.

According to the provincial delegate, in the case of those who settled in the city, their integration in the tasks of national reconstruction was based on their academic and professional credentials.

Elisio Jose also said that there are Zairian refugees in Uije Province, some of whom are already leading a normal life. The province also has an infants' home, with the capacity to shelter 59 children.

In 1990, within its plan of activity, the provincial delegacy of Social Affairs gave priority to the repatriation of the displaced people, including the creation of the minimum conditions that would enable them to take the first steps to begin a new life.

In this regard, one of the first actions was to create transitional centers where the displaced people received food and medicines.

Regarding the elderly in this province, some productive activities within their capacity have been worked out, such as the care of small garden plots and some handicrafts to occupy their free time.

#### • Zairian Refugees Refuse To Be Repatriated

01AF1293G Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 6 Jul 91 p 1

[Text] Zairian refugees in Angola will be repatriated only if they wish to be, Jose Martins, technical director of the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs (SEAS), told the Angolan news agency ANGOP on Friday in Luanda.

Jose Martins was reacting to a letter from the general coordination of the Zairian refugees in Luanda, in which they state that they "do not intend to return to Zaire as long as the regime of President Mobutu remains in power."

"Neither the Angolan Government nor the UN High Commission for Refugees (HCR) has any intention of repatriating them unless they so desire," Jose Martins assured.

In the letter, the general coordination of the Zairian refugees in Angola voiced apprehension about the welcome they could expect in Zaire if they were repatriated, and they deplored the lack of support from the SEAS and the HCR during the eight years which the refugees have spent in Angola.

"We ask for protection from the Angolan Government, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the United Nations Organization (ONU), that they do not send us back to Zaire while Mabuto remains in power," the document reads.

A total of 9,00 Zairian refugees have been in Angola for eight years; they are distributed primarily in Luanda, Kwanza-Norte, and Lunda Norte provinces.



**\* Cabinda: Port for Ocean-Going Ships in Future**

91AF1293H Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 7 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] A port for sea-going ships will be constructed in Cabinda, Joao Garcia (Cabelo Branco), minister of public works and urbanization, told the Angolan news agency ANGOP on Friday in Luanda.

The project, which is part of a plan of action at short and medium range, also calls for permanent protection of the coast of Porto Amboim and exploitation of the Boavista clay pits, in Luanda.

There are also plans for new projects to supply water to the provincial capitals and to some municipios and for an urban renewal project in Luanda City.

**\* Minister Comments on Road Renovation Program**

91AF1293F Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 8 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] It will require an estimated 100 million new kwanzas to rebuild the network of paved roads, Joao Henriques Garcia (Cabelo Branco), minister of public works and urbanization, told the Angolan news agency ANGOP today.

"Of the 75,00 km of paved roads that existed in the colonial era, only about 8,000 are asphalted, and they are in an advanced state of deterioration," he said.

According to the minister, there are already short- and long-range recovery programs and they will take an estimated 10 to 15 years to complete.

Asked about the construction of new roads, Cabelo Branco added that "construction of new roads will be limited to cases in which investments had already been initiated and work had been halted, and in situations of major importance."

In this context, there are plans to build roads in Cabinda, Zaire, Kwanza-Norte, Lunda-Norte, Benguela, Namibe, and Kuando-Kubango provinces.

**\* MPLA Requests Supreme Court Registration**

91AF1293D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 6 Jul 91 p 12

[Article by J.P.]

[Text] The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]—the party in power—yesterday delivered to the People's Supreme Court [TPS] the respective statutes, program, title, certificates of criminal registration [as published] of members of its Central Committee, the acts of recent party congresses, and other relevant documents, for purposes of registering as a political party in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Law of Political Parties.

Marcolino Moco, secretary general of the MPLA, accompanied by Manuel Pedro Pacavira, Political Bureau secretary for information, and Virgilio Fontes, director of the legal office of the Central Committee, went yesterday afternoon to the People's Supreme Court, where they delivered the respective documentation to Presiding Judge Joao Felizardo, along with 3,000 signatures collected in the 18 provinces of the country.

The Law of Political Parties does not require the MPLA to submit the signatures, but Marcolino Moco said his party had determined to comply with the requirements demanded of the other political parties.

According to Marcolino Moco, the MPLA currently has about 100,000 members and the work of admitting new militants will continue, with the enrolment of citizens from various sectors of the Angolan society who are prepared to comply with the statutes and program that were submitted yesterday to the TPS.

The MPLA, which is thus the first political party to request registration by the People's Supreme Court, will wait 30 days for the decision of the presiding judge; once he has checked the identity, signs and symbols of the party and has verified that the legal requirements have been met and that the statutes and program are in conformance with the law, he will grant the inscription.

It should be noted that, constitutionally, the MPLA already has the legal personality and standing that confers the competence to be a party to a specific juridical relationship.

The other political parties will acquire this legal standing and capacity upon inscription with the TPS, that is, after they have presented the required materials.

As he left the meeting, Marcolino Moco, visibly pleased, said: "The MPLA has just completed a very important formality."

He announced that in the next few days a decision would be made to bring an end to the radio program "Fighting Angola."

"It is a matter that is on the agenda and a decision will be forthcoming within a short time," he said.

According to the MPLA secretary general, it is not correct at this time for the installation committees to call themselves political parties. He noted that his recent interview with the Angolan news agency ANGOP, for which he was criticized by the installation committees, was not for the purpose of responding to the press conference held by the committees. "I responded to a specific question asked by the ANGOP reporter and I think I have the right to answer any question put by a journalist," Marcolino stressed.

It is noted that, according to the program and statutes submitted yesterday to the People's Supreme Court, the MPLA declares itself to be a democratic, progressive, independent, and national party of the masses, prepared

to accept as members all Angolan citizens, without distinction as to tribe, ethnic background, race, social origin, or religious faith, who accept the party's program and statutes.

### \* Fisheries Ministry Hampers Private Activity

91AF1293C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 1 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] The Luanda Association of Private Commercial Fishermen (APPIL) is finding it impossible to supply quality fish to the fish markets, because of the excessive bureaucracy in some sectors of the Fisheries Ministry (Minpesca)

Mario Henrique Sousa, secretary general of the association, made the statement on Friday to the Angolan news agency ANGOP. He explained that, starting last October, the APPIL was planning to supply bream, croaker, grouper, maigre, and other species to the Luanda fish markets.

He said the process was being hampered by some sectors of the Minpesca, which to date have not given priority to the "Pescangol" [Angolan Fisheries] wharf, which the association has requested, for the mooring, unloading of fish and loading of supplies aboard the APPIL's fishing boats.

"The APPIL obtained a favorable dispatch from the fishing minister for use of the wharf, but sectors in the ministry are moving so slowly that they are effectively thwarting our project," he stressed.

The source explained that the project, which also won approval of the Luanda government, would permit the APPIL to supervise the suppliers in the association and block the uncontrolled sale of fish on the beaches and in the unofficial markets.

"In view of the situation, the APPIL has not been able to control the production of its members, for want of a definitely established wharf where the boats should dock to channel the fish to the official market," he said.

The organization has 70 boats, including purse seiners, trawlers, and boats equipped with fishing lines; 30 of the boats are out of service. Another 12 boats of various types are expected to go into operation during this year.

The APPIL was formed in 1990 and is aimed, among other things, to support and to represent the private fishermen in Luanda, to guarantee the supply of fish to the capital.

### \* Savimbi Discusses Political Transformation

91AF1260A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE  
in French Jul 91 pp 118, 120-127

[Interview with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi by Jean-Baptiste Placca (assisted by Mamadou Alpha Barry,

Geraldine Faes, and Jean-Vincent Tchienehom) in Paris on 6 and 7 June 1991: "Putting the Peace to Good Use"—first paragraph is JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE, JAE, introduction; italics as published]

[Text] After 16 years of a cruel and deadly civil war the guns have been stilled in Angola. This time peace appears to be a concrete reality. What role will Jonas Savimbi play in the future? During his most recent stay in Paris he paid us a visit.

Never in the 16 years that his word had been law in the bush, the fields, and some of the big cities of Angola had Jonas Savimbi been received in France with such respect. In early June the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) made a conspicuous visit to the French capital during which he mobilized the press and won over hostile audiences, quite literally stealing the media spotlight from Nelson Mandela who had come to demand—without much hope of success—the maintenance of sanctions against Fredrik de Klerk's South Africa.

For the first time, the man whom no one any longer calls "rebel chief" obtained official meetings with French officials of ministerial rank ranging from Roland Dumas, chief of the diplomatic service, to Defense Minister Pierre Joxe and including their colleague, Cooperation Minister Edwige Avice. Famous industrialists and politicians of all stripes came one after the other to the rooms of the Paris hotel where the UNITA leader was staying. This man—who has never forgotten that he is first and foremost an African leader—also made a point of meeting with the African intelligentsia in Paris, at a somewhat formal tea and discussion hour.

Before Paris, Jonas Savimbi had been accorded the red-carpet treatment in Brussels and other honors that left little doubt concerning the manner in which the UNITA leader is now perceived in certain European capitals: as the likely future president of the Republic of Angola. This is definitely the manner in which the Belgians greeted the man who together with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos recently—on 31 May—signed in Lisbon the peace accord that marks the end of the longest civil war in the history of independent Africa.

It accordingly marks the end of the era when Jonas Savimbi was routinely rebuffed by French officialdom and therefore—in order to plead his case in that country—had to content himself with a few more or less furtive meetings with deputies of the parliamentary opposition. Throughout these last 15 years, moreover, he never failed to point out that the treatment he was receiving in France was unfair, particularly "in that country of freedom, where even the communists are free to speak despite the obvious failure of the ideology they espouse." Today he is received under the gilded ceilings of the ministerial offices, not because he won the war but because he did not lose it and had the good sense to accept peace at a moment when the struggle on the battlefield had reached a dead end. Democracy will

come to Angola together with the peace, and Jonas Savimbi hopes to put it to good use to win the power that his adversaries no longer command.

Even business circles, which had been boycotting him—and sometimes combatting him—gave him a welcome usually reserved for the leaders of rich countries that offer genuine opportunities for French firms.

#### **Between Two Appointments, a Friendly Visit to JAE**

Angola is in fact a rich country, an immensely rich country. And for the past 16 years the leading French companies—just as many Western multinationals—were not deprived of the opportunity to conduct business there, by virtue of the fact that they dealt with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], which exercised actual control in Luanda. Moreover, those companies that for whatever reason wanted UNITA out of the picture did not fail to make the successive governments of France aware that these “rebels” should not pollute the business climate in Angola.

Between two appointments the leader of UNITA paid a visit to 30 Messine Avenue long enough to visit the headquarters of JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE, talk with its top executives, and respond to questions from the editorial staff. Obviously, the short hour and a half that Jonas Savimbi had available did not suffice to cover all topics fully. He therefore suggested that we visit him in the late afternoon at his hotel to continue the conversation, which he admitted was of great interest to him. The interview was concluded on the following day. The major challenge faced by the future leaders of Angola will be to restart an economy paralyzed by 30 years of struggle for liberation and the ensuing civil war. But the potential is there—a potential like none other in Africa.

The overview of the economic stakes in the future Angola that we submit for your consideration at the close of the interview may help explain the solicitations of which Jonas Savimbi was the object during his stay in France.

[Placca] What is the first action you will take upon your arrival in Luanda?

[Savimbi] As you know, I left Luanda in August 1975. There will inevitably be a certain emotion. But we believe we must take things as they are and carry out a policy that we believe to be the best for our country, operating from the capital. Jamba was merely a fallback position for the resistance. When we are in Luanda it will be essential that we bring our program immediately before the people. We are going to base our policy on peace, because peace is the essential condition for resuming a completely normal life. It is war that divided us, and peace must bring democracy.

We believe the voice of the people should be heard, so that they may decide their own future, their own destiny, after which the nation should unite in a spirit of solidarity. We believe that whoever wins the elections

should take into account the fact that our country has just lived through some 30 years of war: 15 years fighting colonialism and 16 years fighting among ourselves. National solidarity must therefore be strong, so as to be able to help those whose lives have been seriously impacted by the war.

[Placca] Is the cease-fire genuinely being observed in the field?

[Savimbi] Yes, it is. From Paris this morning (*the interview took place on 6 and 7 June*) I was in contact with the northern part of Angola. The cease-fire has been observed scrupulously ever since it was decreed on 15 May. Better still, the government troops and our troops are cooperating closely. They are forming committees to solve any minor problems that may arise among the local populations.

[Placca] Isn't there the danger that integration of the troops—yours and those of the MPLA—into one and the same army will be an obstacle to the development of the peace process?

[Savimbi] We do not think so. The most difficult—and most complicated—problem will be how to handle the situation of the soldiers who will be demobilized. This is in any event the main source of our current concerns. As you know, the national army will consist of 50,000 men, meaning that a total of almost 200,000 soldiers from both sides will have to be demobilized. This calls for a measure of caution, because people who have fought for what they believed to be a noble and just cause might not understand why they are being cast aside unceremoniously once peace has returned. At UNITA we are all the more concerned, because our soldiers were volunteers. We believe that in order to resume industrial activities we shall have to give priority to the rapid vocational training of these demobilized forces so that they can return without too much pain to civilian life. Otherwise, they could represent a serious threat to public safety and to the cease-fire.

[Placca] You have just signed a peace accord. The Luanda government has evolved considerably in recent years, both in its discourse and in its ideology. Is it possible that after the elections UNITA and the MPLA will join forces, in the name of the higher interest of the Angolan nation?

[Savimbi] To avoid any confusion, it is important that the various parts of the accord be respected: there are for example the cease-fire, the elections, the creation of a single army, and the creation of a joint political-military commission on which the MPLA and UNITA would cooperate in solving any and all problems that may arise. The Americans, the Soviets, and the United Nations will be the observers. In the immediate future, therefore, it is on this commission that we shall work together with our MPLA brothers. We believe that to be part of a government with the MPLA would be to agree to share with them the very oppressive heritage of their past policies, particularly in the economic sector. This is why we felt it

was necessary to create an organ parallel to the transition government—specifically, the joint commission of which we are a part—so that the government would confine itself to a managerial role, with the commission obviously having the right to oversee its performance.

[Placca] Will Angola therefore continue to be governed by the MPLA until the end of the transition period?

[Savimbi] Yes, but as a managerial government, in other words, one that is in charge of expediting routine matters, so to speak. The commission will deal with the more important problems such as the peace, creation of the national army, and elections.

[Placca] Basically, what is the reason for your continued opposition to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos?

[Savimbi] I believe that the MPLA has changed only its words, its discourse. After 16 years of war we are unable to believe—in the absence of proof—that they are really what they claim to be today. We must first see them practice what they preach, because what we know about them prevents us from taking them at their word. For example, it has already been five years since they prepared an economic program which we regarded as acceptable. It called for a market economy, development of small and medium-sized businesses, encouragement of the private sector, and so forth. They never actually put it into practice, however, because that is not their ideology. They simply needed to adopt that line to attract foreign capital! We believe they must change—whether they like it or not—because the international context has changed. But the mentality of people who have been hard-line Marxists for 15 years does not change all that fast or all that easily. We shall therefore judge the MPLA by their works. That is why we prefer to remain outside the transition government.

[Placca] Don't you think it would have been more in Angola's interest to form a government of national unity for the transition period, so that the decisions that will be taken today would be based to some extent on a consensus? The MPLA could also manage things badly and make decisions without you that you will have to carry out later if you win the elections....

[Savimbi] The commission is empowered to oversee the affairs of the government, and the government must inform the commission of everything it does in the economic and international areas. The commission can raise objections. In our opinion it is very important that we not become part of a government immediately. If in the interest of national reconciliation we are obliged to form a coalition government with the MPLA, we shall do so, but only after the elections. Not before!

[Placca] Whom—or what—does Angola have to thank for the current peace and cessation of hostilities?

[Savimbi] There were four or five decisive factors. First of all, there was the military stalemate. You no doubt recall the major offensive unleashed by the MPLA in

December 1989 that lasted until May 1990. At that time the MPLA was using the phrase "final attack," because its objective was to liquidate UNITA completely. It was a battle that lasted 137 days and 137 nights and involved 700 tanks and artillery pieces. If the government troops had been successful in their gamble, there would be no debate today. They failed. The Cubans had previously learned the lessons of reality in the field and had already warned the MPLA that they could not liquidate UNITA militarily. But the Russians persisted, because they were in the forefront. After this failure, the Luanda government and its allies had to acknowledge that military victory was not possible.

[Placca] What is the second factor?

[Savimbi] The independence of Namibia. South Africa was forced to accept Namibian independence contemporaneously with the demands that the Cubans leave Angola. All the Cubans have now left our country. No more than 2,000 remain, but they are also about to leave.

[Placca] Precisely in connection with the independence of Namibia, your friends were afraid for you, because you suddenly found yourself sandwiched between the MPLA and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]. You must have been in a cold sweat. Or did you have guarantees at the time?

[Savimbi] We had no guarantees. We have taken so many risks during the years and years of combat that this could not be more than an additional risk that had to be taken in confronting a difficult situation. I was quite confident, however, because during the first stages of its war of liberation SWAPO was dependent on us. It was we who trained SWAPO's first guerrillas. We cooperated with them from 1966 to 1974. But when the civil war broke out in Angola, they had to choose to remain with the MPLA, and we understood their action perfectly well, because they needed the logistic assistance of those who controlled the ports. I told myself, of course, that in the long run SWAPO would do well to review its position with regard to us. And I was right, because our relations with SWAPO have improved.

[Placca] Has there been any foreign mediation to bring you together or reconcile you?

[Savimbi] As you are well aware, the entire border between Angola and Namibia is controlled by UNITA. Moreover, the populations that live on both sides of the border are from the same tribes. The traditional chiefs have therefore played a decisive role. It is they who reasoned with everyone involved, getting us to understand that we were all their children and that we could not kill one another. They sought all possible solutions and touched responsive chords by evoking, for example, the marriage ties that unite more than one family on either side of the border. You are well aware of the direction in which Africa is moving. SWAPO has not been insensitive to this discourse, and has ceased to entertain a certain hostility toward us. Nevertheless, we have experienced some difficulties.



[Placca] What is the third decisive factor in the current peace?

[Savimbi] The Russians and the Americans, instead of fighting each other, decided to cooperate in solving what they call regional conflicts. That fact exerted a great deal of influence on the accord we have just signed with the MPLA.

[Placca] And the next factor?

[Savimbi] The final factor is the reforms that Frederik de Klerk is carrying out in South Africa to dismantle apartheid. This has caused those African countries that had previously been cool toward us to talk with us today. They have realized that we were not traitors to our continent. If we received and accepted South African assistance, it was because we were in straitened circumstances. I met one day with General Olusegun Obasanjo, former president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, at the residence of an African head of state. Right away he challenged me by saying, "You, Savimbi, have betrayed the continent." I replied, "No, I have not betrayed the continent." Our host asked to join in the discussion, and then asked Gen. Obasanjo: "If someone's life is threatened, what should that person's initial response be?" Obasanjo answered, "First of all, to survive." "That is what Savimbi did," the African head of state concluded by saying. Now that he is no longer in such a difficult position and therefore no longer needs the South Africans, he has normal relations with them. They can no longer serve as an excuse for anyone to say that he betrayed the African cause. The reforms currently under way in South Africa have led some countries to review their position, as could be seen again in early June at the OAU summit in Abuja. All this has created a climate, both in the region and on the continent, that has very definitely facilitated the accord which we have just signed in Lisbon.

[Placca] Are there some things you regret having done during these 30 years of conflict?

[Savimbi] As you know, leading a political party under normal conditions is one thing, and leading a resistance movement is quite another. You cannot state positively that over a period of 30 years you have always been right, because it is a question of commanding men. Merely sending people to the front knowing that they may be killed is already a questionable act. Basically, everyone must decide what he intends to do with his life. I had 85,000 men under my command. At one time or another we undoubtedly made decisions that were not the right ones, but we believe today that our resistance was the best thing we could do for our country. We resisted the Portuguese, and we could not subsequently accept domination of our country by the Russians and the Cubans, and so we resisted. There were 300,000 dead among the population and the soldiers. It is a very grievous balance sheet, but I believe that if it brings stability, reconciliation, and democracy to our country it was worth the price.

[Placca] Everything is happening today as if only the MPLA and UNITA were on the political scene in Angola. Aren't there other groups that can participate in the current transition phase—the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola], for example?

[Savimbi] This very morning we spoke again of the FNLA. You know that President Roberto Holden, for whom we have the greatest admiration and respect, has lived here in Paris for 15 years. He therefore did not have the opportunity to resist that we had. He was not a soldier and consequently could not take the risk of remaining in the bush. We did take that risk. He subsequently never controlled a liberated area in the interior of Angola. He was always dependent on Zaire. When diplomatic pressures compelled President Mobutu to ask him to leave, he had to go, and by so doing cut himself off from his base. We believe, nevertheless, that he has the same rights as we, namely that he has the right to reconstruct his movement, recreate it, and campaign for political power. He has the right to do that. But he is late—15 years late! He must be recognized. The multi-party system would make no sense if there were only the MPLA and UNITA. We expect, and we hope, that there will be other organizations. President dos Santos held a press conference at Abuja during which he said—and for the first time we are in agreement with him—that it is not easy in the space of 15 months to create a party, establish it, form cadres, and be able to win elections against UNITA and the MPLA. I believe, however, that there will be other parties, but the principal organizations will still be UNITA and the MPLA.

[Placca] As regards the economy, what do you believe must be done to rebuild Angola, which in the opinion of everyone has sunk very low?

[Savimbi] You know that Angola is one of the richest countries in our region. We have everything: petroleum, diamonds, uranium, cobalt, all the mineral ores. In addition, we have agriculture. We were at one time the world's largest coffee growers. The only thing we lacked was peace. If it is consolidated and guaranteed, Angola will get back on its feet very quickly.

[Placca] Foreign investors are manifesting a revival of interest in Angola, but do you in fact have the means—a strategy—for controlling and filtering the influx of foreign capital and of businessmen who may well arrive in disorganized fashion, as has been observed on other occasions elsewhere?

[Savimbi] We have always said that we were in favor of a market economy, in which private enterprise is a prime mover. But there will always be a private sector and a public sector. What we want is for the public sector not to be able to intervene constantly in the domains of the private sector and that it not be a majority shareholder. The public sector, however, should take responsibility for the strategic areas. It is important, for example, that the government be able to control what takes place in the

petroleum industry. We in UNITA are particularly interested in the development of small and medium-size businesses, because that is the sector in which Africans too can participate in the nation's economic activity. For you are well aware that the big companies—Total, ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France] Aquitaine, and the others—continue to deal with the government rather than with the small local investors. It is only in the PME [small and medium-size businesses] that Africans can cooperate with foreign investors on an equal footing. And it is through the PME that the economic fabric of the nation will be restored. Our real ambition is to promote the development of a middle class of entrepreneurs.

[Placca] During these 16 years of war, has UNITA trained cadres in sectors other than the military sector? Do you have people who are qualified to go to work tomorrow in the areas of planning and the economy?

[Savimbi] Absolutely! Those who have not yet had an opportunity to visit Jamba believe that UNITA was only a simple guerrilla movement, encircled in the bush and always on the run. Jamba is a city, a city that has everything: schools, hospitals, and so forth. When the young people of our movement finish their secondary education in Angola, they go abroad. We have students in the French universities who are among the best in their respective branches of learning. Other students are in Portugal and the Ivory Coast. We also have Angolan cadres who left the country because of the war to take refuge abroad, especially in Portugal. After the signing of the peace accords with the Luanda government we spent several additional days in Lisbon to talk with these cadres, who are truly valuable. We will never have enough cadres, but these cadres—together with those we sent abroad for training—will be sufficient in number to enable us to begin the work of getting the country back on its feet.

[Placca] What will become of Jamba?

[Savimbi] Jamba? It will be necessary to leave Jamba. That is a place from where we directed the resistance. Normal living conditions did not exist there at the outset. The Portuguese, moreover, called it "the land at the end of the earth." We created everything that is there. There are water, hospitals, agricultural projects, and schools. The people who live in Jamba are not native to the area: they have come from eastern and central Angola. Some of them will want to establish themselves there permanently. Others will choose to go back home. The native population of the Jamba region did itself take refuge more to the south, because it did not have what is required for a normal life. Now that the conditions are right, I hope that they will also return home, to Jamba. For us, it will always be a landmark in our lives, and we will return from time to time to Jamba.

[Placca] Is it possible to have waged war for 16 years against a government that is supported by other countries and come to power without harboring a measure of

ill will toward those who only yesterday refused to accord you any legitimacy whatever?

[Savimbi] Ill will, never! Otherwise I would not be here in France, because the country that was the coolest toward us was France. ELF Aquitaine, for example, was not content to collaborate with the MPLA government but also put obstacles in the way of all Frenchmen who wanted to work with us or were merely trying to contact us. Today, the president of ELF Aquitaine has just seen me at Brussels and is meeting with me here in Paris. This is indeed proof that all such things are past history.

[Placca] Does this mean there is mutual trust between you? Or does it mean that self-interest has gained the upper hand?

[Savimbi] In politics there is no place for ill will. One must be keenly aware of where one's interests lie: that is the most important thing. Even in the interior of the country, we did not allow ourselves to feel any ill will toward our brothers who were on the other side. Even from the African perspective, we do not harbor any ill will toward someone such as President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who has however done us a good deal of harm.

[Placca] What harm?

[Savimbi] In the first place, it was he who responded favorably to Kissinger in 1975 with respect to sending the South Africans to Angola. That did not prevent him from later becoming the most virulent of our enemies. In the second place, we considered President Kaunda to be UNITA's best friend. For us Africans, that is important! So much so, that when we had to leave the cities I sent my 76-year-old mother to his home in Lusaka. Later, he sent her back! President Kaunda accused us of involvement in plots against him. That was not true. However, we were very careful not to attack him although we had the means to do so. In 1986, for example, UNITA had become very powerful, and there were those who were urging us to attack Kaunda. My response was always: "I am an African, and I cannot send my soldiers to attack another country. That would be a serious mistake." Today, it is Kaunda who is sending people to tell me, "come, let's talk." I sent my secretary of state for foreign affairs to see him, and he spent three days with Kaunda. I made it clear to my secretary of state, however, that he should make a note of everything President Kaunda said. You have to keep score! That is because Kaunda is always in tears. You want to talk to him, he begins to cry, sentiment gains the upper hand, and you lose the thread of your discussion. I did in fact tell my secretary of state to write everything down, and to continue talking whether Kaunda is crying or not! Today, our relations with him are normal. Let bygones be bygones.

[Placca] You also have friends!

[Savimbi] Yes, lots of them. We have always had African people and African countries with us. They have supported us, even if it has been behind the scenes, because they knew ours was a just cause.

[Placca] Aren't you a little concerned for your safety in returning in this way to Luanda, a city controlled by the MPLA?

[Savimbi] I am never afraid. If I were afraid, I would never have done what I have done. I am sufficiently at my ease to disclose to you today that we have always had cells in Luanda that operated in secret. People believe that Luanda was an island controlled by the MPLA. We were very firmly established there. A second point is that the accords we have signed stipulate that the safety of UNITA's leaders is not within the province of the government. It is UNITA that will provide for the safety of its own leaders. And because the MPLA was sending commandos everywhere—abroad as well as in Angola—to eliminate me, to be able to survive for 16 years required a rather efficient security service, believe me. Lastly, I confess to you that I am a believer. Other than the security service, it is God alone who protects leaders.

[Placca] How many languages do you speak?

[Savimbi] Three European languages: French, English, and Portuguese. I also speak five Angolan languages.

[Placca] Have you ever considered writing the history of your life, of your struggle?

[Savimbi] No, I have never thought of doing that. Some day, when the struggle has ended....

[Placca] People were perhaps justified in believing the struggle ended, or almost ended, when they saw that you were no longer wearing the beard you wore for such a long time. When did you shave it off?

[Savimbi] In March, shortly before the UNITA congress, when we concluded that from a practical standpoint the military combat had in reality come to an end.

[Placca] If you were one day to write your memoirs, what are the great moments in your life that you would like to talk about no matter what the cost?

[Savimbi] First of all, my life as a young man with my father, who was a great nationalist. Shortly before the end of World War II my father told me his only regret was that Salazar had not allied himself with Hitler, because he sensed that Hitler was going to lose the war.

My father hoped that our country would in this way have ceased to be a Portuguese colony and become a territory under the trusteeship of the United Nations.

He was a stationmaster on the Benguela Railway and simultaneously a shepherd. He was certainly not wealthy, but his situation was much better than that of the average Angolan. As far as his social condition was concerned, he might therefore have reasoned that there

was no need to challenge the colonial system. Instead, he hoped that Angola would obtain freedom from the Portuguese yoke and did everything possible to achieve that goal. He never stopped telling me, "We have one enemy in our country: the Portuguese." I answered that he had some Portuguese under his command. And he never stopped telling me, "Being among the privileged does not make us any the less slaves." That left a strong impression on me. Then there was also my grandfather, who had no use for the Christian religion. He criticized my father for his religious beliefs, which were those of the people who were stealing our land.

My grandfather died in 1946, at 110 years of age. During his final hours he refused to be treated by a doctor, because he did not want any part of the "white man's medicine." He told my father that everyone who was with the whites was evil, and told me, "Don't follow in your father's footsteps." He was wrong. I have tried to reconcile their different positions: that of my father, an educated man and a nationalist, and that of my grandfather, who said you had to be genuine African and reject everything that came from the whites.

My departure for Portugal in 1958 also left a strong impression on me. My father, who wanted me to become a doctor, told me: "We may see each other again some day, and it is also possible that we will never see each other again. As for me, if I must die here while you are over there, realize that we have agreed on one thing: we must fight the Portuguese and drive them from our country." I did in fact never see him again. He died in prison in 1973, and I returned to Angola in 1974.

A fourth important moment in my life was when we made a choice between the MPLA and the FNLA, which at that time was called the UPA [Union of the Angolan People]. The program in which we young university students believed was the progressive program of the MPLA, a good program. We asked to see the UPA's program, but it stood for absolutely nothing and was not coherent. We thought, however, that the most important thing was that the UPA was in favor of armed struggle, because we believed that no discussion with Salazar was possible. We had to fight. The MPLA had a well-structured program, but it advocated dialogue with the Portuguese. We therefore chose armed struggle, at the side of the UPA. We were very soon disappointed, because the UPA did not want to see the intellectuals join the guerrillas. They said that the intellectuals should remain abroad and engage in propaganda, and that only the others—the less well educated—should go out and get themselves killed. We could not agree to that. If the others had to die for their native land, we had the same obligation.

[Placca] Was there another important moment?

[Savimbi] My experience in Africa has now enabled me to understand that moment. Presidents Nasser, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Modibo Keita—all the "progressives"—were my friends. One day I went to them to

explain that the FNLA—which they, and we, had recognized (this was in 1963-64)—did not want the intellectuals to join the guerrillas, and that the struggle was suffering reverses. “The MPLA,” I told them, “which you say is progressive, is not fighting.” They promised to support me. When on 15 July 1964 we left the UPA, no one any longer wanted to see us. The response we got was, “You are no longer minister of foreign affairs of the provisional government; you are no longer secretary general of the party. Upon what grounds should we meet with you?” I could have been disappointed in my African “friends,” but I was not. Today, I understand them.

It was a very difficult period for us. We did not know where we could live, and we had nothing to eat. We did not give up hope, though, because we had to fight for our country.

That was, above all else, what impelled us to react. The African brothers who had promised to aid us did not do so. They had abandoned us, because they had just created the OAU and were afraid their peers would accuse them of acting outside the framework of that organization. Even though they knew some of the OAU's decisions were unfair, they were prisoners of those decisions. We suffered a lot then. We had no passport; we had absolutely nothing.

I remember something else from that same period, something I shall never forget. That is the time we decided to reenter Angola, in October 1966. Amilcar Cabral, for example, had Guinea-Conakry as a rear base, whereas we reentered Angola without having any fall-back position, knowing that our bridges had been completely burned behind us. But we told ourselves: “No matter. If we die, that was the choice we made.”

[Placca] Were your comrades from the same region as you?

[Savimbi] There was no tribal link among us. Gen. Miguel N'Zau Puna and Tony da Costa—with whom I founded UNITA—were from Cabinda. I was from central Angola, and we arrived in a region separated from my native province by the Kwanza River. Although no one there knew us, the residents of the villages gave us a hearty welcome. We stayed with them for eight years. They asked us only one question: “One of you is from Cabinda, and one of you is from central Angola. There are even some Portuguese with you. Why don't you do your fighting in those places? Over time they came to understand that we were sincere nationalists. They told themselves that they had to help people who had taken advanced studies—the secretary general was trained as an agricultural engineer—who were willing to live with them, with poor people. The Portuguese never knew where we were. You are well aware that the traditional chiefs worked with the Portuguese who gave them, among other things, weapons to fight us. They would turn the weapons over to us. That period left its mark on

us. Everyone has his own tribe, that is true, but in Angola there is a very profound national sentiment.

This experience also taught us that we had an obligation toward the most deprived of our fellow countrymen. Without them, UNITA would not be what it is today.

I should like to mention one final point: I am a Protestant. There came a time when my father could no longer pay for my education, and I had to go see the Catholics. The idea was to return to the secondary school at Bie, which until then had been attended only by whites. Some of the instructors asked me to convert to Catholicism as a condition for taking their classes. “No,” the school principal said, “he needs our help, and it is wrong to force him to change his religion.” His successor, Brother Armando Cordeira, helped me complete my secondary studies. He is still alive, is now 78, and lives in Rio. He has come to see us twice in Jamba, most recently in 1990. On the eve of the signing of the accord I phoned him to tell him the news. He was overjoyed.

[Placca] Your opinion of the OAU does not appear to be one of unqualified admiration, and yet you call yourself a Pan-Africanist....

[Savimbi] People often ask me today if it isn't true that Pan-Africanism is dead. I do not believe it is. For it to become a more effective reality, only three things are necessary:

1. Do a good job building our respective countries from the economic, political, and social standpoints, and create infrastructures.
2. Learn from the mistakes that the pioneers—our elders—made in their approach to Pan-Africanism.
3. Be well informed as to the composition of the forces you are facing. If you decide to clash with someone stronger than you, that could threaten the movement with destruction.

I sincerely believe that those who advocated Pan-Africanism were not wrong, but they unfortunately did not have a strategic approach to the problem. Even if Pan-Africanism is not victorious in the next 10 years, that will not be a serious blow. What must not happen is any adventures that would destroy the hopes of our continent. If it takes another 20 years to achieve victory, so be it. It is better to proceed slowly but surely. We must not make enemies, because we are weak. That is the reality. If we do not achieve the victory, or if you young people do not, the children of your children will one day do the job. We need solid foundations, not adventures.

[Placca] You discontinued your medical studies to take courses in political science and economics. Was that because of an appetite for power?

[Savimbi] No, no; it was not that at all. My father wanted me to be a doctor, and I studied medicine for three years. But I asked myself what I would do upon completion of my studies, because it was out of the question for me to



remain abroad. Never, never would I do that. I swore the day I left home that I would return at all costs. I accordingly told myself that I would be a doctor—I was a good student—and take care of the people tortured by the PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State] (*the Portuguese political police*). Then I asked myself, "Is that really what I want to do, or should I take action against those who are oppressing all these people? I chose to take action against the Portuguese."

[Placca] Is it possible to have a family life and do what you have been doing for 30 years?

[Savimbi] Yes, but not a normal life. My wife made the trip to France with me. I have five children, but I regret not having been able to carry on a certain family tradition. My grandfather told me stories of his struggle against the Portuguese, and my father also told me stories. I do not have the time to do that. I see my children once a month. I am in the field, even though we have our base in Jamba, which is very well organized and well defended. I only rarely spend as much as one week at a time there. It is a question of security, of my work. My family life is therefore not normal, but that was our decision.

[Placca] Have you already had any close calls with death?

[Savimbi] Yes indeed. On several occasions, and in particular twice when I was with Puna. The first time we didn't know if we would be alive the following day, because we were encircled by the Cubans and being bombarded. We were really convinced that we would not get out of there alive. That was in 1976. The second time was in 1978, in Cunene. We told ourselves that we had to attempt a breakthrough, because we were completely surrounded. Every time we were faced with a situation of this type, I led the way and told the others: "Follow me at a distance. If we meet the enemy, I'll fire first, together with my security escort. You will open fire, and we'll get through. If I'm hit, you will keep going." Puna can testify to what happened. In situations like that I have never been willing to have a commander direct the operations. I direct them myself.

[Placca] In the course of these 16 years, did you sometimes feel that you were close to peace?

[Savimbi] No, never.

[Placca] Even the African initiatives...?

[Savimbi] People often told me that we were Africans and that it was necessary to find an African solution to the conflict. I never believed that. I knew that was not a good approach, and in fact it has never produced good results. When I saw the Americans and the Soviets get involved, however, I realized that they could render the decision, because it is they who are in control. But when people spoke to me of the OAU.... I was very familiar with the OAU, for I was present when it was created, and I am aware of everything that goes on there. I knew that they would fail. All the countries were governed at that

time by single-party regimes, and with all due respect I say that the OAU was a syndicate. How could they have been able to say, "You, Dos Santos, or you, Neto, must agree to hold elections," when they themselves had never held any? I knew that would be impossible.

[Placca] Yet you accepted an accord in June 1989 at Gbadolite....

[Savimbi] I must remind you of what Dos Santos himself said during an interview he gave at Abuja. He was asked in what way Lisbon had been different from Gbadolite. He replied that at Lisbon there had been an in-depth discussion between the government and UNITA. It was not I who said that, but Dos Santos. Then what was discussed at Gbadolite? We had found ourselves in a room where everyone was already seated, and not a single document had been signed. Dos Santos acknowledged this in the interview. The MPLA, however, had tried to spread disinformation among those present by saying that I had signed an accord. They have now admitted the truth.

[Placca] Have you happened to experience moments of discouragement that caused you to consider giving up the fight?

[Savimbi] No, never, because I would not have known where to go. If we had given up, we would have had to leave, because if we stopped fighting we could not remain in Angola. Although I had friends—African heads of state—in whose countries I could have lived in exile, that was out of the question. We had suffered too much in Cairo. At the end of every month you had to go to the Ministry of the Interior to renew your visitor's permits. It was such a humiliating experience! We spent many days there. I had decided never to go through that again.

[Placca] The disappointment that Angolans may feel with respect to the MPLA will not be enough to make them favorably disposed toward you. What message will you take to that other Angola—the Angola where you have not been for 16 years—so that the people will say, "These are the men we need?"

[Savimbi] We will tell them first of all that we fought the occupying forces. It is a message that is unassailable. The Cubans threatened the life of every Angolan. Over a period of 16 years we had 350,000 Cubans here on a rotating basis, and recently—when we negotiated this accord—they numbered 60,000. They were unmarried, and they left children behind. Some of them took their children with them, but not a single Angolan girl left for Cuba. It is a social problem that has affected all Angolans.

So we fought the Cubans. They lost 10,000 men; we lost 6,000. But what did we fight for? For the salvation of our native land. Our fellow countrymen will be grateful to us.

[Placca] Throughout all these years, in official speeches and in the government media in Luanda, you have been called bandits.

[Savimbi] The Portuguese applied the word "bandit" to the MPLA, to the FNLA, and to us. If I am not mistaken, Angola has been governed for 16 years by bandits.

[Placca] You have often been pictured as a man who rules his party with an iron hand.

[Savimbi] If the people of UNITA are hearing you, they are going to believe you are the victim of MPLA disinformation! It is in the councils of UNITA that the most heated debate takes place, and the Portuguese understood this. Our deliberations sometimes take 20 hours before a decision is hammered out. Anyone who controls a movement with an iron hand doesn't devote 20 hours to debate. During the peace negotiations there came a time when we said that if our conditions were not met, we would not proceed with the negotiations. I wanted to persuade our movement that we had to proceed in spite of everything, and that required a meeting that lasted 20 hours. The Portuguese noticed that every time our delegation believed the discussion was no longer making progress, it decided to return to Jamba for two or three days. The moment the delegation arrived I had to convene the committee, which is extremely politicized. Everyone is entitled to speak, and for as long as necessary. No one is allowed to prevent anyone from speaking. If you want to refute something, you have to wait your turn. Nevertheless, in a liberation movement you have to have discipline. How do you expect to win a war against 60,000 men if your movement is weak? It has to be strong. We previously had a political bureau of 14 leaders, who made the decisions, and there the debate was heated, because some in the bureau were military men but some were noncommissioned officers who were civilians. The 14 men had to come to an agreement, however, because in UNITA there is no rule whereby a decision can be made by a majority; if a single person is opposed to a decision, you have to take the time to persuade him. Moreover, because our organization is pyramidal, if the 14 men reach an agreement, one must then meet with the other administrative organs: the political committee, the central authority, and the consultative committees.

[Placca] What did UNITA actually control in the field?

[Savimbi] We controlled the countryside, with which we were very familiar. In the cities we had cells, and this enabled us to organize urban actions. In journalistic terms, these actions are called attacks. We carried them out everywhere. On one occasion we succeeded in eliminating 300 Cubans at one installation. We have cells in Luanda proper. I have also just received—here in Paris—a telegram in which the activists in Luanda tell me, "You, Mr. President, have announced that you will return to Luanda in early July. You cannot do that without having a discussion beforehand with those who during all these years have been UNITA's shadow army

in the capital." That is why we have decided to meet with them in Jamba before returning to Luanda.

#### • Study Offers Optimistic Economic Outlook

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[Articles by Geraldine Faes: "An Economy Devastated by War"; D.H.: "Coveted Mines"; and C.C.: "In Search of Black Gold"]

[Text] Four centuries of colonization, 30 years of war and devastation, including 16 under Marxism, a heavy burden for a single country, particularly on this African continent, a land of every imaginable type of disaster. Looted, ravaged, and destroyed by so much misfortune, Angola will need time to rebuild, hard work to get back to a normal rhythm of life, and both tolerance and forgiveness in order to forget: forget war, poverty, privation, and mutilation. It will also need foreign aid, but not exactly like that demanded by most other African countries.

For a long time and until the mid 1970's, coffee growing and diamond mining dominated the national economy, along with sisal and iron ore. Oil did not gain first place among export products until 1973, but it now supplies nearly 90 percent of the country's foreign exchange receipts and some 50 percent of the government's budget (see boxed information below) [not reproduced]. In other words, Angola has not always been a single-commodity exporter and does have resources neglected because of the war and left fallow even though their development would have been relatively easy.

Not only the coffee and cotton, but the sugarcane, tobacco, and sisal plantations as well, located in combat zones, could easily be rehabilitated if peace became a lasting reality. Their owners have long since fled and the government has by and large appropriated or, as the locals say, "intervened in," these plantations. Congolese authorities are expected to grant operating concessions to joint ventures that would invest the means needed to develop a type of export agriculture able to stand up to Asian competition. Starting very nearly from scratch, this sector will enjoy the advantage of not dragging along obsolete techniques.

As for food crops, everything will depend on the will of the peasants and their desire to return to the land they fled. Luanda now has a quarter of Angola's some 9.5 million inhabitants. To feed the capital, the government has therefore become a big importer of food products, in contrast with the days when the country was an exporter, particularly of corn.

Outside of oil and the mines, the industrial infrastructure is practically nonexistent. In 1965, the adoption of an investment code encouraging the influx of foreign capital made it possible to lay the foundations of a national industry oriented toward activities based on oil and mining (chemical products, paper, glass, electric

cable, paints), breweries, textiles, and tobacco. Although heavily dependent on Portugal (whence most semifinished products were imported, tax free), this industry placed the country among the most industrialized countries of sub-Saharan Africa in 1974, an envied position that Angola could win back rather rapidly.

The only industrial sector doing well at the present time, however, is building and public works and for all the reasons one can easily imagine. Here the word "reconstruction" takes on its full meaning. Nor can one forget that no one has ventured to put up a building for 15 years! The French builders Bouygues and Dumez seem to be off to a good start in winning a few contracts, but competition will be stiff, for it is now obvious that rehabilitation of communication infrastructures is a priority and that financial backers should come in without too many problems. The Portuguese, who had originally intended to be here "for 100 years," did in fact bequeath the country a relatively substantial system: 72,000 kms of roads, 2,500 kms of railroad, 3 international ports, 3 pleasure ports, and some 31 airports! All things considered, it is a huge potential market, even if it is still difficult to have an exact picture of the infrastructure.

Later, when reform of the financial system has been implemented, foreigners will probably also invest in the food-agricultural industry and industries based on oil. Taking advantage of the oil boom, Angola could also develop its own processing industry, but such a plan remains basically theoretical, even though it is not totally utopian. Angola does have the raw materials. It will probably also have the funds, but it still has to find the professional competency, not the easiest part.

#### What Black Gold Brings In

Until 1961, the date of the armed uprising that was at the origin of a certain number of reforms in favor of the native population, Angolans had absolutely no access to secondary education. The settlers themselves were uneducated *petits blancs*. Half of the 325,000 Portuguese living in Angola in 1974 had never attended school. After independence, the civil war prevented any consistent action in the social sectors and few young people were trained to become bluecollar workers, foremen, or engineers. Lacking the wherewithal, the universities have not fulfilled their mission, or have done so poorly. The limited managerial personnel that the country had became soldiers or fled. Some died, while others say they are now ready to swap their uniforms for the charcoal-grey suit of high-ranking government officials. Indeed, for over 10 years, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has been regularly sending young Angolans from its camps to be trained in foreign universities. Nor has the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] ever stopped training, at home and abroad. In other words, there will still be a few strong arms to bear the brunt of the effort of getting the economic machine going again. But what a formidable task!

Already, international institutions are expressing a real desire to help, essentially in the technical fields. With oil and diamonds, the country has enough resources to finance its economic development. However, to date no one knows exactly how much the black gold does bring in. Some believe that rather than inflating the debt (which is now "reasonable"), Angola could ask for technical assistance. Within the framework of the Program Capacity Building Project, the IMF is already finalizing a project for economic management assistance, which will receive a credit of \$20 million. Authorities do not have the economists it needs to set up the national accounting system. For 15 years, the country has been operating with what, in economic jargon, is known as cashbox accounting: One adds up what comes into the country, subtracts what goes out, and what is left is what one has in one's coffer. When one is at war, however, the "military spending" column has the curious ability to absorb all manner of transactions and purchases. At any rate, it has to date absorbed nearly all the oil revenue, and the few industries still operating are what mainly oiled the war machine.

#### Regaining the Confidence of Investors

Even before the peace agreements between the ruling MPLA and UNITA were signed on 31 May in Lisbon, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, for once in agreement, buried their hatchets and took up their pilgrim's staffs in order to persuade governments, investors, and other international institutions to give them assistance, gifts, loans, and capital to rebuild their country. It is true that they had numerous arguments for enticing potential partners: Angola's extraordinary agricultural and mining potential, a desire to liberalize the economy, a profession of faith in the IMF's recommendations, and their abandonment of war. However, will it be enough to restore the confidence of international business and financial circles? No one is certain because, in order for Angola to become attractive once again, authorities must first attack a basic problem, which for the time being makes any influx of foreign capital illusory: reorganization of the financial system.

#### Halt Unavoidable Depreciation of the Kwanza

Until 1974, the soundness of the banking sector was a source of pride for Portuguese colonizers. Numerous commercial banks (including the Bank of Angola founded in 1926) linked to the mother country or to foreign banks such as Standard Bank of England or the First National City Bank shared the task of managing a considerable mass of deposits, while several investment banks financed operations in industry, agriculture, and livestock raising. However, the coming to power of a Marxist regime and the nearly simultaneous beginning of the civil war totally destroyed this financial network. Today, the National Bank of Angola, which acts as both an issuing institute and commercial bank, is trying, with only the People's Bank of Angola, to halt the unavoidable depreciation of the kwanza and respond to investment needs. A plan to reform the banking system worked



out by the World Bank and the IMF is under study in Luanda. Initially, it would be a matter of freeing the Central Bank of all commercial activities and of reviving existing banks and agricultural credit institutions. When these new rules of play have been defined, foreign partners will take out minority shares in national banks. Certain privatizations could even be carried out, but only after this long reorganization has been completed will authorities consider authorizing foreign banks to come in. "This proposed reform is extraordinarily cautious," comments one French expert on Angolan questions. "I am afraid that those who thought it up do not realize the difficulty of reviving banks that have not been efficient for over a decade or the lag between the length of time it takes to carry out such a program and the urgency of needs."

Furthermore, the problem of the absence of a reliable banking system is combined with other problems of currency, prices, and credit. As long as the kwanza has not been devalued (one of the conditions set forth by the IMF for the signing of any future agreement), confidence in the national currency will remain at zero. Now then, it is not likely that such a decision, necessarily unpopular, will be made before the 1992 elections.

In Luanda in the meantime, bartering proceeds apace and the count is kept in cans of beer, the famous Cerveja! An airplane ticket is paid for in dozens of cases, while a chicken costs two or three cans! The institution of a new kwanza in September 1990, followed three months later by a devaluation (of 100 percent!), served no purpose, inasmuch as no measures were taken to accompany the operation.

### Indispensable Reform of Financial System

At the present time, the gap between the official exchange rate and the parallel rate is 1/80, exactly what it was before the first devaluation. Within such a context, one has difficulty imagining how an efficient national industry could emerge, particularly when it will also be necessary to totally revise the system of prices heretofore set by the Marxist government. For the time being, the only sign of good will on the part of authorities has been the liberalization of retail trade, which has made it possible to revive circuits of distribution paralyzed by a government monopoly for over 15 years.

For foreign investors concerned about developing export industries, reform of the financial system is also indispensable on quite a different level, for while Western and South African manufacturers care little about the value of the national currency, they are waiting for banking legislation to authorize them to open up offshore accounts guaranteeing them the possibility of repatriating profits in foreign exchange. For the time being, each one is paving the way to future cooperation, but we are far from the intense fighting that some imagine. Governments, like entrepreneurs, still agree on the fact that Angola is a profitable "future" market.

With peace, this country now has all the ingredients for lasting economic development. Unlike most African nations, Angola can feed its population and by and large has enough exportable products to finance its industrialization. If people do indeed want it, hard work and wisdom will do the rest.

### Coveted Deposits

Angola has returned to the De Beers jewelcase. At the beginning of 1991, the South African firm, the world's leading merchant in uncut diamonds, renewed its relations with ENDIAMA [expansion not given], the Angolan National Diamond Company, after a five-year break. According to the new contract, which went into effect on 1 January, De Beers, through its London subsidiary, the Central Selling Organization (CSO), will henceforth market Angolan diamonds from the Cuango Basin, some 80 percent of the country's production.

With 1.4 million carats mined in 1990, ENDIAMA now seems to have emerged from its black period: In 1986, production fell to 267,000 carats, mainly due to fighting in diamond-mining zones. With the return to peace, the Angolan firm's officials think they can save the some \$25 million spent to date on transporting the stones by air, the overland route obviously being highly dangerous. By restoring official sales circuits, they also intend to do away with (or reduce) the diamond black market, which amounts to an estimated \$50 million a year. Finally, they will be able to reopen mines that were either closed or at which operations were suspended for reasons having to do with the war raging in the country.

De Beers has already promised to commit \$120 million to Angola. A loan of \$50 million will be used to develop new deposits. An equivalent sum will be invested to complete a geological survey and an economic study of kimberlite resources, while \$25 million will be used to build a diamond center in Luanda.

These alluring prospects have restored ENDIAMA officials' optimism and determination. They thus hope to be able to regain their record production level of 1974 (2.4 million carats) and—why not?—reach 3 to 4 million carats in four to five years. With its diamond reserves, Angola could in fact become the fourth-ranking producer in the world in a relatively short period of time. In April of this year, shortly after its reconciliation with the diamond giant, ENDIAMA signed another agreement with two foreign private companies: SAICAM [expansion not given] (Zaire) and Empreendimentos (Portugal), for prospecting and working the Cuango River reserves containing an estimated 2 million carats, potential wealth that is all the greater because the stones from this riverbed are prized in the jewelry business.

The Angolans, who definitely intend to market the 20 percent not destined for the De Beers-CSO circuit themselves, are negotiating with foreign partners in order to obtain the best terms for opening an office and sales counter in London and Antwerp. The new climate will unquestionably speed up such negotiations.



### Search for Black Gold

With 24 million tons of crude oil extracted in 1990, Angola is in second place among sub-Saharan Africa's producer countries, trailing Nigeria, the continent's leading oil-producing nation with 79 million tons last year. Angola's production is rising and should total 29 million tons this year, unless its authorities decide once again to limit the level as they did in 1989, when the practice was to support oil prices and extend the length of time oil reserves would last. After all, if everyone views Angola as an "eldorado" to be exploited, the level of proven reserves guarantees it only 14 years of production at the 1990 rate. Consequently, officials in Luanda today are attentive to the exploration efforts undertaken by oil companies. Essentially offshore to date, research and extraction efforts, mainly headed by Chevron and ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France]-Aquitaine, have targeted the interior very little. Development in the Cabinda area alone represents between 45 and 50 percent of Angola's total production. If renewed peace justifies hopes, the oil multinationals will remain cautious and concentrate all exploration efforts on offshore permits. Such is the case in particular of Western companies Chevron, ELF-Aquitaine, Texaco, Petrofina, AGIP [Italian General Oil Company], and other companies newly established in Angola. According to a study by Norland Consultants, some \$1.7 billion is to be invested in the development of offshore deposits between now and 1994. For their part, Angolan authorities (while awaiting privatization of national distribution company SONANGOL [Angolan National Fuel Company]) are now more than ever encouraging the establishment of new oil companies such as Shell, in an attempt to consolidate the providential manna which oil is! Essentially exported to France, Belgium, and the United States, Angolan crude reportedly brought in between \$1.56 billion and \$2.7 billion for the government in 1989. The country's inadequate statistical data prevent one from giving precise figures.

### Madagascar

#### Protesters Reportedly Killed, Injured at Palace

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10 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 10 (AFP)—At least nine protesters were killed by the Madagascar's presidential guard outside President Didier Ratsiraka's palace here Saturday, according to an AFP photographer on the spot. The Red Cross in Madagascar has not confirmed the deaths in the opposition protests but reported "at least 100 injured." The AFP photographer reported that the presidential guard threw grenades and fired AK 47 assault rifles at the front ranks of the opposition protesters.

### Premier Orders Investigation

EA1208170691 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar  
Network in Malagasy 0330 GMT 12 Aug

[Statement by Guy Razanamasy, Madagascar prime minister and head of state, on the events which occurred on 10 August; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen: Following the horrible disaster which occurred in Antananarivo-Atsimondrano [Subprefecture] resulting deaths and very many wounded people, I, as head of the government, offer the following clarifications:

Those opposed to the government grouped together within what is called the Active Forces, decided to lead the people gathered in front of the former City Hall—better known under the name 13 May Square—to march toward Ambohitraina-lavoloha [State House, about 15 km south of Antananarivo] on that day, 10 August 1991.

When the march reached Ankadimbahoaka [southern Antananarivo], the deputy mayor of Antananarivo Town urged those leading the march not to go beyond the place where they were, which is the limit of the capital. The people effectively stopped advancing, but a group of about 200 people broke through the roadblock; so the people thought that the way was free and continued on their way south.

I make it clear and insist that I, prime minister and head of the government, am totally unaware of the measures taken and implemented by those in charge concerning the guarding and defense of the Presidential State House. According to reports by the authorities, tear gas and stones thrown by slings were reportedly utilized during the event. Examinations of the wounded and the bodies of those who died showed injuries that resulted neither from tear gas nor slings.

It should also be made known that the guarding and defense of the Presidential State House is neither under the competence nor the responsibility of the head of the government. I have already ordered that forensic medicine reports be undertaken on all the victims. In the same way, I also ordered that investigations be held rapidly into everything that really happened and resulted in such a disaster.

I respectfully and humbly bow down before those Malagasy compatriots who have lost their lives and fully share their families' sorrows. I also hope that those wounded and still suffering will soon recover.

### President Defends Security Forces

EA1208215591 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar  
Network in Malagasy 0330 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The political situation in the country is tense despite the various efforts made toward dialogue and aimed at reaching a consensus on how to restore to order

the state of affairs in the country. [passage omitted] Support by various people from all corners of the island for Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka has continued. Among these are, for example, the visits by representatives of kinglets and of many subprefectures to the Iavoloha State House during the afternoon of 11 August. It was during the welcome ceremony for these delegations that Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka explained the events which occurred during the assault [as heard] on the state house, Iavoloha.

[Begin Ratsiraka recording] [passage omitted] [Words indistinct] very sad [words indistinct] and two young people from our side were killed by them [words indistinct] they died.

So, if somebody says that Ratsiraka is a murderer—no ladies and gentlemen, it is not Ratsiraka who is a murderer but it is those who misled the people who are murderers. It is they who led the people [words indistinct] misled them and some of them have lost their lives.

The first thing which I would like to note is that the presidential guards [RESEP] or regiment (?under) presidential (?protection) soldiers did not fire at all. I would like to note this because it has been reported that army soldiers, gendarmes, and policemen were supporting the opposition and that it was the RESEP who killed. No, ladies and gentlemen.

First: Nobody was wounded or killed yesterday by a bullet. When (?we) dropped tear gas and offensive grenades from a helicopter, people panicked and some of them were trampled underfoot. The two sides threw stones at each other, and people were wounded, people died. According to what has already been broadcast by the radio, 213 were wounded and 11 died, one young person from our side is still seriously wounded and is still in the (?hospital).

It is army soldiers, parachutists, and gendarmes who [word indistinct] these people. The RESEP were waiting at the Iavoloha State House gate here [words indistinct]. It does not, however, mean that what the army soldiers and gendarmes did was bad.

I really approve of what the army soldiers and gendarmes did for our protection, especially since there were Fokonolona [village community] and people [words indistinct] who lost their lives, who were wounded in protecting us. I would only like to note that the RESEP or presidential security regiment [words indistinct] this event. [passage omitted]

It was said, rumored, that there were people who were shot [word indistinct] their back: no single bullet was [words indistinct] yesterday but only stones against stones. [Words indistinct] tear gas and offensive grenades, as I said, [words indistinct] the people.

This can be witnessed at the hospital, at the mortuary: No single bullet has killed or wounded a person. Army

soldiers fired but they fired shots in the air [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]. [Words indistinct] hundreds, thousands [words indistinct].

That is why the helicopter dropped grenades—in order to disperse (?the people), but if we had not done this and these people had managed to reach the Iavoloha State House gate, there would have been great bloodshed, as the RESEP was set up to protect the president of the Republic.

Luckily, they did not reach that point because they were stopped by parachutists, stopped by [passage indistinct] helicopter [words indistinct] and tear gas grenades. [Words indistinct] very great bloodshed would have been seen if they reached the [words indistinct] gate. [passage omitted]

Clear plans of procedure in line with democracy had already been established: The government had been dissolved, a new prime minister had been appointed, a national reconciliation government was to be formed to restore order and peace in the country in order to prepare a new constitution, to prepare new electoral laws, and to hold a referendum and to hold free elections, which all journalists and all those who wish to witness are welcome as such elections will be free ones.

Three or four opposition political parties have agreed to this, but the others came to [words indistinct], came here reportedly [word indistinct] peacefully, singing religious songs, but coming here with sabers, assagais, guns, pistols, stones.

I say all this in order to make people aware of the fact that Ratsiraka is not a murderer, but if people want to kill him, he must defend himself. I wish that they had not come here.

Since many people are saying: Do not resign, Ratsiraka. I will betray the people if I resign. I will not resign, ladies and gentlemen. [applause]

I have already said something about this: If I am defeated during elections, I will bow and shake hands with the one who defeats me because I am a sportsman. [passage omitted]

### Strike 'Taking Hold'

AB1208120591 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT  
12 Aug 91

[Text] Nairobi, Aug 12 (AFP) - The death toll among demonstrators in Madagascar shot at by presidential guards at the weekend has risen from 18 to at least 30, a local Red Cross official said on Monday [12 August]. Contacted by phone from the Kenyan capital, Gisele Razafinrakoto said the figure was based on admissions to the two hospitals in the capital Antananarivo and would probably rise further because of inadequate facilities and shortage of drugs.

Many people were missing and there were bound to be bodies in the rice fields around President Didier Ratsiraka's official residence, she said. The Red Cross had been unable to go and search because the fields were mined, she added.

The killings occurred as close to half a million people converged on the presidential residence at Iavoloha outside the capital to call on Admiral Ratsiraka to resign. Demonstrators fled through the rice fields when the shooting started. Razafindrakoto said there were 231 people wounded.

The bodies of the victims were to be brought to the city centre for a funeral vigil as tens of thousands of people gathered on May 13 Square on Monday. A general strike called by a coalition of opposition parties was taking hold, with banks closed and little public transport.

### **Further on General Strike**

*AB1308103691 Paris AFP in English 1008 GMT  
13 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] Antananarivo, Aug 13 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of demonstrators massed in Madagascar's capital on Tuesday, paralysed by a general strike as the opposition stepped up its campaign to oust President Didier Ratsiraka. The opposition coalition Hery Velona, or Lifeblood Committee, which has organised more than two months of almost daily protests against Admiral Ratsiraka's rule, called the strike after security forces killed at least 31 demonstrators during a march on the presidential palace on Saturday [10 August].

Banks, businesses and government offices were closed, all international flights were cancelled for the third consecutive day, and rail and bus workers were also on strike. But some shops reopened after remaining closed Monday, residents of Antananarivo said. Previous opposition calls for a general strike have resulted in partial strikes which have crippled the economy of the Indian Ocean island and left tourist hotels almost empty.

Opposition vigilantes were holding six men and a woman who they said were military security officers at their headquarters in the Rasalam school on Tuesday, said Daniel Ramaromisa, named as "shadow transport minister" by the opposition which has appointed an alternative government. The seven were captured when opposition activists stopped their car early Tuesday in a popular neighbourhood of the capital and found that they were carrying four Chinese-made AK47 automatic rifles and ammunition, Ramaromisa said.

An AFP photographer who visited the school said the six men were wearing bloodstained blindfolds or bags over their faces and had apparently been beaten. Their hands and feet were tied. A guard said: "That's what they get for what they did to our people on Saturday." The woman with them, who showed no signs of mistreatment, said she was not involved with the military. She

said she had attended rallies in support of the president "because they gave us food and money."

The violence at the weekend, when Ratsiraka's North Korean-trained guards opened fire on some 400,000 unarmed demonstrators taking part in a "freedom march" on his palace, killing at least 31 people, according to the local Red Cross, has raised fears of further bloodshed. Opposition leaders have started appearing in public with heavily armed bodyguards, and security has been tightened around the headquarters of the 16-party coalition seeking to drive Ratsiraka from power.

Residents said the opposition had apparently formed a militia, as armed opposition vigilantes patrolled some parts of the capital on Monday night. The residents, who declined to be identified, said they feared that "attacks by the Army could bring another disaster before the end of the week." [passage omitted]

### **Ratsiraka Considers Referendum**

*AB1208150691 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT  
12 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Antananarivo, Aug 12 (AFP) - Madagascar's beleaguered President Didier Ratsiraka, whose guards killed at least 30 protesters on Saturday [10 August], has vowed not to stand down, but said he was willing to hold a referendum on change. A general strike called by the opposition brought this Indian Ocean island to a standstill on Monday as the 16-party coalition Hery Velona, or Lifeblood Committee, stepped up its campaign to oust Admiral Ratsiraka after the weekend killings, which marked the end of two months of peaceful protests. [passage omitted]

Up to a hundred thousand grim-faced opposition supporters gathered on Monday in May 13 Square, the scene of almost daily protests for the past two months, in response to a call by opposition leaders to step up the campaign to oust Ratsiraka, in power for 16 years.

They attended a funeral service for five of those killed, the youngest of whom was aged 12 and the oldest 55. Among them were two young girls, said churchmen who officiated at the service. No opposition leaders spoke at the service, leaving it to church leaders to express horror at the bloodshed. The churchmen said they had sent a delegation to ask Ratsiraka to return bodies allegedly spirited away by his guards.

Some opposition supporters claimed that the army was putting the bodies in uniform so they could say the demonstrators had killed soldiers, but it was impossible to confirm the allegation. [passage omitted]

The formerly neutral National Council of Christian Churches, a powerful ecumenical organisation, has condemned the authorities for the bloodshed.

Ratsiraka, his face creased with worry and fatigue, appeared on television on Sunday evening, when he met

some 15 traditional community leaders and attempted to justify the actions of his North Korean-trained guards. "The president of Madagascar is not a murderer," he said. "But if someone wants to kill him, he is forced to defend himself, and that's the mission of the presidential guard."

The 54-year-old president said he was willing to hold a referendum on his rule, though he set no date. "I was elected by more than 62 percent of the people of Madagascar in elections scarcely two years ago," he said. "I will step down only if I'm beaten at the ballot box."

Ratsiraka denied that his guards had fired into the crowd on Saturday. But witnesses and opposition leaders said they had opened fire when the demonstrators were about one kilometre (half a mile) from his unremarkable white-and-blue palace at Iavoloha, 17 kilometres (10 miles) south of the capital Antananarivo, built partly by North Koreans during his Marxist heyday.

Witnesses said two helicopters had taken off from the grounds of Ratsiraka's palace and had dropped grenades into the crowd on Saturday. But Ratsiraka, appealing for negotiations with the opposition "to end all this," said the grenades were harmless tear-gas canisters, not live grenades as reported by doctors who removed shrapnel and live bullets from the wounded. [passage omitted]

Razafinrakoto said the capital's two main hospitals and smaller clinics were desperately short of medicines and hopelessly overcrowded with the wounded. The French medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres said its doctors were working at the two main hospitals. In Paris, the organisation said it estimated that there were more than 300 wounded.

Most workers seemed to have responded to the call for a general strike "until the fall of Ratsiraka," with only essential services such as electricity, telephone and water

functioning. All international flights were canceled on Sunday and Monday and there was no public transport here.

Diplomats expressed fears of escalating violence in the campaign to oust Ratsiraka, whose socialist rule has made Madagascar the world's twelfth poorest country, with annual per-capita income of only 210 dollars. "Things are going to get tougher," a Western diplomat said. "People are angry." [passage omitted]

### Prime Minister Comments

LD1208173291 Brussels La Une Radio Network  
in French 1600 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] About 100,000 demonstrators gathered in Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar, to pay tribute to the 30 victims of the bloody repression ordered by President Ratsiraka on Saturday in the area around the Presidential Palace. On the events of last Saturday and the responsibilities of the demonstrators, Istfan Felkali managed to obtain the following exclusive interview on the phone from the Malagasy prime minister. Could the departure of President Ratsiraka avoid bloodshed? Reply by Guy Razanamasy:

[Begin recording] [Razanamasy] It could perhaps bring a solution as far as Antananarivo and also some big cities are concerned, but I fear very much that there could be reactions elsewhere. You know, the opposition does not have the total assent of the entire Malagasy population. This is what I fear. This is why I am advocating a soft and democratic solution. I have a mission and I am trying to fulfill it with all the powers I have asked for and which in my view seemed necessary to bring about this solution. If by any chance I were to notice that I was no longer capable of carrying out this mission, I would just have to draw the logical conclusion.

[Felkali] In that case, would you resign?

[Razanamasy] Yes, without a doubt. [end recording]



## Ghana

### Government Denies BCCI Financed Airport Radar

AB0908123091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting  
Corporation Radio Network in English 2000 GMT  
8 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The government has refuted and expressed its outrage at a report carried in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL of the fifth of this month on the activities of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, BCCI, in Africa. The report includes allegations that the bank financed the purchase of radar landing equipment installed at the Kotoka International Airport in Accra in 1984.

An official statement issued today said the report was a total fabrication. It added that purchase of the radar in 1983 was not financed with a loan from the bank or any financial institution for that matter.

The statement further explained that the entire purchase price of 3 million pounds sterling was transferred through the Bank of Ghana via letters of credit issued by the Ghana Commercial Bank, London, to the suppliers, Messrs. [names indistinct], Radar Limited of the United Kingdom.

The BCCI was not involved in the financing of this transaction at all and could obviously, therefore, not have inflated the cost of bank as alleged in the journal's report.

The statement mentioned the only two other major air traffic control and landing systems installed in the airport since January 1982. These are an instrument landing system procured with a grant by the UN Development Program and a flight information system supplied and installed by Intelcom Techno-Systems of Canada under a facility granted by the Exports Development Cooperation also of Canada.

The statement pointed out that even in these two other instances there was no BCCI involvement in their financing. It deplored the tendency in the Western media to use the BCCI scandal to smear Third World countries in general and innocent officials in those countries in particular.

The statement described as slanderous and libelous the allegation in the report that members of the government had gained financially from the acquisition of the radar system financed by the BCCI.

It added that the government takes a very serious view of the fabrications contained in the report and is accordingly consulting with its solicitors with a view to taking action to demand a full retraction and obtain an unqualified apology from the journal. [passage omitted]

### U.S. Congress Discusses Liberian Situation

AB1108154291 Accra Ghana Broadcasting  
Corporation Radio Network in English 1300 GMT  
10 Aug 91

[Text] A U.S. congressman, Mr. Mervyn Dymally, has thrown a hand that the next round of the Liberian peace talks would try to set a timetable for dissolving Charles Taylor's rebels. Mr. Dymally said this when he met newsmen in Abidjan after a meeting with the Ivorian leader, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. We read to you details of the meeting as filed by Samuel Owusu Nimako:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The five-nation mediation committee meeting in Yamoussoukro, which was chaired by 85-year-old President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire [Ivory Coast], [word indistinct] the late attempt to find a lasting solution to the Liberian crisis last month. Mr. Dymally, chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa, said the meeting next month would seek a special schedule from Mr. Taylor for disarming his troops. Mr. Dymally disclosed also that he had sent a telegram to the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen, urging that the United States provide money for the peacekeeping forces.

Mr. Taylor, who controls a large part of Liberia, has persistently dismissed attempts to disarm his rebels as long as the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] peace-keeping force remains in the capital, Monrovia, controlled by an interim government led by Dr. Amos Sawyer. Mr. Dymally confirmed that Mr. Taylor lays heavily on the Ivorian leader. Some diplomats have said Cote d'Ivoire has always turned a blind eye to arms shipments to Mr. Taylor passing through Ivorian territory.

Mr. Dymally is on a tour of some African countries primarily to help organize the Pan-African song festival in Los Angeles next year. [end recording]

### Army Contingent, Refugees Leave for Liberia

AB1108163191 Accra Ghana Broadcasting  
Corporation Radio Network in English 2000 GMT  
10 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Seven hundred and (?seventeen) officers and men of the Ghana Army, forming Ghanbat 4, left Tema today on board MV Volta River on a peacekeeping mission to Liberia. The contingent, under the command of Major W.K. Addo, will join an advance party of 100 officers and men, led by Lieutenant Colonel A.B. Safo, the Ghanbat commander. Also on board were over 1,200 Liberian refugees returning home. [passage omitted]

### Negative Coverage of Developing World Viewed

AB1108212591 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Daniel Agoseh Ngama commentary]

[Text] It is becoming increasingly clear with each passing day that the Western media have adopted a new offensive posture to present the developing world in the darkest possible manner in tune with the aspirations of the western world to claim total hegemony of the lives of people.

The manipulation of events, circumstances and information fall into a set pattern, designed for that purpose. Take for instance, the recent developments in Ethiopia and the coverage given by the Western media. In the wake of intense rebel activity and civil war, the president, Mengistu Haile Mariam, left the country. Indeed, he had promised about two weeks earlier to resign if that was the only means to bring about peace in his war-torn country.

Immediately after his departure, the BBC went on air for days and hours that the Ethiopian leader had not only fled the country but has gone to settle on a ranch he owned in Zimbabwe. Obviously this was intended for the gullible audience which has been conditioned to swallow every negative report on African personalities.

When the Zimbabwean Government issued a denial that Mengistu, indeed, did not own any farm in Harare, the Western media played it down by airing it in an innocuous and ineffective manner. Then when an Anglo-American company issued a statement establishing ownership of the farming estate, reported to belong to Mengistu, the Western media declined to pick it up.

And since most African media network are fed by the same Western media, there was no access to the story. In effect, the lie about Mengistu's farm has stuck in people's minds in a manner that the powers that be wished it. That is a classic example of the manipulation of the Western media of the minds of people of the developing world and sadly, they seem to be having a field day because of what appears to be a loss of confidence in the local media.

Of course, the distortions and slander came in handy for local politicians who often design their campaign for political power around the prejudiced news of sections of the Western media. In the final analysis, it must be realized that, by so doing, we become collaborators in our own destruction. As a popular Akan saying goes, the cane used in beating Takyi is the same cane used in beating Bah.

Of course, Africa needs political reform and it is true that Africa needs a type of leadership responsive to the needs and aspirations of its people. But in working for these

goals, we must be careful not to pander to the manipulations of those simply used as pawns by people who look down on us and want to see us permanently enslaved.

We need to nurture a new consciousness that will make our people sit up and cease being receptacles of anything handed down by the West.

### Niger

#### Conference Suspends Constitution With Act 3

AB0908151091 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Concerning today's deliberations at the National Conference, discussions centered on Act No. 3 and its 10 [new] articles. Thus, after some amendments, this Act was adopted by the plenary session. Here is the text of this Act:

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Considering Act No. 1 of 30 July 1991 on the statutes of the National Conference; considering the proclamation of the sovereignty of the National Conference; considering the deliberations of the plenary session on 7 and 8 August 1991 on the fate of the present political institutions; the National Conference proclaims:

Article 1: The 14 June 1987 National Charter, amended by Law No. 91-001 of 24 April 1991, has been abolished.

Article 2: The 24 September 1989 Constitution, amended by Law No. 91-002 of 24 April 1991, has been suspended.

Article 3: The Republic of Niger, which was proclaimed on 18 December 1958, remains a country that respects the rule of law; it is one, indivisible, democratic, and secular state.

Article 4, which is the former Article 3, remains unchanged: The rights and liberties of the citizens, as recognized by the 1789 Declaration of Human Rights and the Citizens, the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights; the 1981 African Charter on Human Rights and the Rights of the Peoples are hereby guaranteed. The rights and duties of the citizen will be exercised as within the framework of the existing laws and regulations.

Article 5: International agreements signed in the past and duly ratified will be respected.

Article 6: The National Assembly and the National Council of Development are dissolved.

Article 7: The president of the Republic is temporarily maintained in his duties as head of state, under the control of the National Conference. In the case of incapacity, the National Conference will advise accordingly.

Article 8: The government, in its present form, is maintained in place until the election of a prime minister and the creation of a transitional government. The government will be in charge of the day-to-day activities, under the control of the National Conference. The National Conference is in charge of checking all the public services, the Armed Forces, as well as the Security Forces, until the creation of the transitional institutions of the state.

Article 9: The current membership of the Supreme Court is maintained. However, its Constitutional Chamber has been suspended.

Article 10: The laws and regulations that have not been expressly abrogated, remain in force under the provisions that are in line with the present Act. And finally,

Article 11: The presidium of the Conference is in charge of monitoring the implementation of the present Act which will be published in accordance with the Emergency Procedure. I thank you. [applause] [end recording]

#### National Conference Chairman Explains Decisions

AB1208175591 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network  
in French 0545 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] The chairman of the presidium of the national conference yesterday morning gave some explanations about Act 3 of the sovereign conference and the issue of laity. Let us listen to the explanations given by Professor Andre Salifou, chairman of the presidium of the national conference:

[Begin recording] First, I will like to tell all my countrymen—whatever the organizations they belong to, whether they are politicians, trade unionists, or just Niger nationals who do not belong to any political party—to understand that by deciding in a sovereign manner, to place under its authority all our national institutions and to place under its control all the state organs, beginning with the government, this national conference does not in any way jeopardize the normal and dynamic functioning of the state's administrative apparatus. Therefore, I am asking our countrymen who might have wrongly interpreted the decisions made by our national conference to demonstrate a spirit of serenity, concord and mutual understanding, and to leave alone all the country's public servants—prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, district heads—to carry out normally their daily activities. I also want to point out that all the country's public servants are free to move about throughout their area of jurisdiction and, in particular during this period of agricultural campaign, to go and inspect the condition of our farms and to see what problems are being faced by our valiant rural people. I hope this call will be heard. Once again, leave the public servants alone. Public servants, you are authorized to move freely throughout your areas of jurisdiction and also to perform freely their daily duties as public servants.

Second, I will also like to give clarifications about rumors that have been circulating, in particular over the past two days, saying that our country is no longer called Niger. On behalf of the sovereign national conference, I will like to state here and solemnly that our country certainly continues to be called Niger and that Niger is a Muslim state, with even a 90 percent-Muslim population, according to some sources. The national conference has duly understood and respected this fact. The national conference has been prompt to point out this fact. Laity is not an insult against any religion. It is a platform bringing together all Niger men and women—whatever their religion—who are desirous of living together in peace and tranquility. Therefore, the second appeal I am making on behalf of the national conference is that all our countrymen as well as all the people living in this country, should fully understand that Niger is a secular state that respects all religions and that is desirous of saving peace in this country, peace without which we cannot build anything and cannot even safeguard national unity in which we believe deeply. I thank you. [end recording]

#### Nigeria

##### Northern Dailies Frown on Planned Israeli Ties

AB0908133091 Paris AFP in French 1221 GMT  
8 Aug 91

[Text] Lagos, 8 Aug (AFP)—Two Nigerian dailies, controlled by Muslims from the north, today criticized the military government's decision to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. THE DEMOCRAT and THE REPORTER, both published in Kaduna (northern Nigeria), are the first newspapers to react to the statement made 5 August in Jerusalem by Major General (retired) Ike Nwachukwu, the Nigerian External Relations Minister.

"If the Babangida government wants to go down in history by reestablishing ties with Israel, it should not be to the detriment of its reputation, noted for its propensity to reflect the wishes of the majority of Nigerians," writes THE DEMOCRAT in its editorial captioned: "Another No to Israel."

For its part, THE REPORTER, writing in an editorial on the "clandestine and secret" visit of the minister to Jerusalem, notes that Nigeria has no economic benefit to draw from such a resumption in relations because the Jewish state "survives thanks to U.S. aid" and experiences the worst inflation among the developed countries.

##### Aikhomu Comments on Liberia, Ties With Israel

AB1008113591 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 1500 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Nigeria has expressed concern over the reported withdrawal of the leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, INPFL, Prince Yormi Johnson, from that country's interim government. The

vice president, Admiral [retired] Augustus Aikhomu, told State House correspondents in a briefing in Lagos today that the Federal Government was expecting a report in detail from the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] commander. The Interim Legislative Assembly in Monrovia had ordered the Justice Ministry to investigate the (?issue) of the executed men by Prince Johnson.

Announcing the withdrawal of his group from the interim government, Prince Johnson accused the administration of economic mismanagement and persuading INPFL fighters to hand over their weapons to the peacekeeping force. The INPFL leader held the post of vice president in Liberia's interim government until his withdrawal.

On the transition program, Admiral Aikhomu disclosed that the local government law in respect of the federal constituencies were being amended to clear some anomalies. He expressed the view that democracy would survive in the Third Republic with the implementation of the current political and economic programs. The vice president also said that the establishment of a national guard, which would serve as a link between the police and the military would be put in place before the end of next year. He remarked that this would minimize the use of military in solving internal crises.

And on the Nigeria-Israeli relations, Admiral Aikhomu said that Nigeria was ready to resume diplomatic relations with Israel because the situation that contributed to the withdrawal of diplomatic relations had changed. He stated that many Arab countries had already resumed diplomatic relations with Israel.

### **Funding Inkatha Said Supporting Violence**

AB1008114191 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English  
1030 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Mohamed Okorijor commentary]

[Text] The United States has announced the staggering grant of \$2.5 million to the crisis-ridden Zulu Inkatha movement of Chief Buthelezi. Ordinarily, one should not begrudge Washington for extending a grant for an organization if it is done in good faith. But to give out such an amount to the Inkatha Movement, closely on the heels of Inkathagate, is reenacting the biblical story of the hand of Esau and the voice of Jacob. It seems that the Americans want to take over from where the de Klerk and his clique were found out so that Inkatha will be able to continue its clandestine actions to upstage the ANC [African National Congress] and adulterate genuine efforts to excise apartheid.

Although the United States has it on the same card that it is granting the ANC three times the amount it is giving to Inkatha, and that the grant come under America's transition to democracy project, it is quite easy to see that there is a sustained conspiracy from the West to

keep Inkatha afloat and strengthen it for a role of betrayal which Pretoria, and now by implication, Washington, wants it to play. If the United States actually has it as a genuine policy to assist the process of democracy in South Africa, certain of its actions are suspect.

First, why should it hasten to lift sanctions against the racist regime while apartheid is still very much in place and it has become abundantly clear that de Klerk is carrying out a grand deception? Secondly, with the magnitude of the scandal of Inkathagate, America ought to have shied away from any financial involvement with Inkatha, but it seems that Washington has a penchant for scandals, considering Watergate, Irangate, and perhaps several others to come. But one would have thought that a country with such a blistering record of scandals and which arrogate itself as the police of the world would be weary this time of one more devastating scandal.

Money given to Inkatha is money paid out to foment trouble an upheaval. This much is clear! Authoritative reports by the weekly MAIL of South Africa show that Buthelezi is being funded to train his men in both urban and rural guerrilla tactics inside Angola's Caprivi Strip. The men are being trained by the dreaded South African Defense Force at a military base called (Hypo). And even inside Buthelezi's KwaZulu land, his men, along with those of Mozambique's pro-apartheid Renamo, undergo joint training under the supervision of South African security forces. All these are part from authenticated facts that the South African Defense Force has been secretly funding and supplying weapons to Inkatha.

Also there are facts to show that the South African Defense Force has been fanning the township violence and that there have been secret correspondence between Buthelezi and the South African security agents. Although Buthelezi has consistently denied all these, the fact that there has never been any clash between his men and the South African Defense Forces, whereas his weapons are trained on fellow blacks of the ANC, is an eloquent testimony of his intentions. If Buthelezi means well for South Africa and the blacks, why has he sent his men to be trained by the very enemies of freedom? And how possible is it for him to turn around and work against the very people who are financing and arming him? Certainly, such generosity must have in (?toll) some conditions that cannot be palatable.

President Bush and all his aides cannot claim ignorance of these shameful happenings in South Africa. Even in spite of all these, good old Uncle Sam still finds nothing wrong in spending huge sums to fund antidemocracy efforts, then America has lost its position as the world's champion of democracy. Instances abound when the United States has brushed aside the UN Charter to do what it likes and then resort to the clauses of the same charter when it is advantageous to do so. In simple language, this amounts to double-talk.

The American Constitution, which President Bush has sworn to uphold and defend, believes that all men,



irrespective of race, color, or creed, have a right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, and continuous funding of Inkatha in whatever guise, is a negation of this noble aspiration and therefore very un-American.

#### **Appeals Court Orders Release of Ex-Minister**

AB1008144191 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 0600 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] The Special Appeal Tribunal has set aside the 10-year jail term passed on the former minister of petroleum resources, Professor Tam David-West. Prof. David-West was convicted on a two-count charge by the Special Military Tribunal on the Recovery of Public Property of contributing to the economic adversity of the country by conceding \$57 million to (Stinos InterOil) for an off-shore oil contract.

The chairman of the Appeal Tribunal, Justice Dowsi Coker, while reviewing the case agreed with the lower tribunal that Prof. David-West did not obtain the mandate of the president to negotiate and make such a concession. He, however, held that this was a negligence which only shows the eagerness to conclude the (Stinos) issue. Justice Coker said that Prof. David-West was not offered any advice by other members of NNPC [Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation] staff. He also said the former minister erroneously believed that he had the mandate of the president, but added that his advisers should share in the guilt resulting from the error.

The chairman of the Appeal Tribunal, Justice Coker, held that the allusion to the gifts of (chain), launch, [and] wrist-watch was irrelevant and proved nothing. He also held that as a matter of fact, Prof. David-West abused his office, but said that the sentence was excessive. The judge said that the lower tribunal misled itself by considering irrelevant issues which were not in evidence. Justice Coker therefore decided that Prof. David-West should be cautioned and released from jail.

#### **Aikhomu Reaffirms Commitment to Palestinians**

AB1008170891 Dakar PANA in English 1810 GMT  
9 Aug 91

[Text] Lagos, 9 Aug. (NAN/PANA) - Nigerian Vice President Augustus Aikhomu said Friday [9 August] in Lagos that Nigeria remained unalloyed in its support for the Palestinian cause in spite of the move to restore diplomatic ties with Israel.

He told State House correspondents at his weekly press briefing that the Nigerian Government was cautious about ensuring that the restoration of ties with Israel did not in any way cloud Nigeria's relations with the Palestinians.

Aikhomu expressed Nigeria's support for the current global efforts to find a lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, saying that Nigeria would be willing to host a peace conference on Middle East, if all the parties requested it to do so.

Nigeria Sunday sent its foreign affairs minister, Ike Nwachukwu, to Tel Aviv for consultations with Israeli government officials in a move preparatory to the restoration of ties between the two countries, which were severed in 1973.

#### **Babangida Comments on Democracy, RSA Reported**

AB1108161091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 0600 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] The chairman of the OAU, President Ibrahim Babangida, has urged African governments and peoples to create the right environment for democracy. He made the call yesterday in Abuja and remarked that peace, law and order, as well as a change of attitude by African leaders were necessary for true democratic to take roots in the continent. General Babangida was responding to a question on whether he (believed) the campaign for democratization around Africa [words indistinct] with economic reforms.

On South Africa, he reiterated that among problems that have not been addressed by the racist regime was the political degradation of the black majority. He said that although that issue was tackled, Africa would continue to sponsor pressure against the Pretoria regime. Gen. Babangida reaffirmed Nigeria's preparedness to step up material and diplomatic support for the nationalist movements in southern Africa.

#### **Babangida, Cameroon's Biya To Solve Dispute**

AB1108165191 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 0600 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Nigeria and Cameroon have resolved to tackle their border conflict diplomatically and amicably in the spirit of African brotherhood. President Ibrahim Babangida and his Cameroonian counterpart, President Paul Biya, stated this yesterday at the end of their talks in Abuja. Addressing a joint news conference at the Abuja Airport, General Babangida confirmed that Nigeria had no problem with Cameroon and that officials of both countries will continue the dialogue to smooth out rough edges in their relations.

In the same vein, President Biya said his government attached a lot of importance to the principle of good-neighborliness. He remarked that the two countries shared a common border and similar ethnic groups, as well as trade. The Cameroonian leader, therefore, stressed that it was in his country's interest to sustain cordial relations with Nigeria.

On the democratization program in Cameroon, President Biya maintained that he would not accept the request for a national conference. He explained that the country's National Assembly had passed laws guaranteeing freedom of expression, public liberty, general amnesty, and the formation of political parties, adding that all repressive laws in Cameroon had been repealed.

President Biya argued that since these measures had been introduced, the question of a national conference was redundant.

The Cameroonian leader left Abuja for home yesterday after a one-day official visit to Nigeria during which he discussed bilateral and continental issues with Gen. Babangida.

### **Paper 'Welcomes' Restored Ties With Israel**

*AB1208104091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 11 Aug 91*

[From the press review]

[Text] The SUNDAY CHAMPION welcomes moves by the Federal Government to restore relations with Israel. It says Nigeria and Israel have a lot of areas from which they can derive mutual benefits. These, according to the CHAMPION, include agriculture, technical exchanges, industrial projects, and construction. Also, with the restoration of diplomatic ties with Israel, the CHAMPION further says Nigeria will be in a stronger position to contribute to the quest for peace in the Middle East.

THE OUTLOOK also commends the federal government for taking this (important) initiative. But THE OUTLOOK urges the Israeli Government to redouble its efforts in the direction of peace with its Arab neighbors to bring about lasting peace in the Middle East.

### **Sudan's RCC Says Nigeria To Host Peace Talks**

*AB1208221091 Paris AFP in English 1920 GMT 12 Aug 91*

[Text] Lagos, Aug 12 (AFP)—Nigeria will host peace talks this year between the Sudanese Government and rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), a member of Sudan's ruling junta, Colonel Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah, said here Monday.

The warring parties have also agreed that further contacts between them should be channelled through Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, who currently chairs the Organisation of African Unity, Khalifah said after meeting the Nigerian head of state.

The SPLA leader, Colonel John Garang, announced here last June 14 that his rebel organisation had accepted an initiative from Sudan's ruling Revolutionary Command Council to mediate.

Garang, who met General Babangida on May 21, also pledged SPLA cooperation with his mediation efforts

and expressed readiness to honour all agreements reached at the mediation conference.

## **Togo**

### **General Eyadema Protests to National Conference**

*AB1008091091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0615 GMT 10 Aug 91*

[Letter from President Eyadema to the chairman of the presidium of the National Conference in Lome on 8 August—read by Monsignor Kpodzroh, presidium chairman]

[Excerpts] The president of the Republic, Lome, 8 August 1991: Mr. Chairman, considering developments at the national conference, in my capacity of head of state, elected by direct universal suffrage by all citizens of both sexes, and faithful to the 12 June 1991 accord by which both the government and the Front of Democratic Opposition parties and associations formally agreed to organize a national conference, I deem it necessary to recall that the main objective of this conference is to set up new institutions after an extensive democratic debate. These institutions will be submitted for approval to the Togolese people, who will also be called upon to choose their representatives in an election that will give each one an equal chance. Before the 12 June accord came into effect, an important step toward democracy was made through the promulgation of the charter establishing a multiparty system while freedom of the press was fully ensured.

And yet, the first decision made by the national conference in the form of a document entitled Act No. 1 dated 16 July 1991, deviates from the context defined by the 12 June accord and goes into a blatant and deliberate violation of the fundamental principles of any democracy. By the aforementioned decision, the national conference declared itself sovereign in disregard to universally recognized principles and formally reaffirmed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948, which states in Article 20, Paragraph 3 that sovereignty can only be delegated by universal suffrage. [passage omitted]

In my capacity as president of the Republic, I explicitly endorsed the 12 June 1991 accord which had just been reached because it was designed to speed up the establishment of new democratic institutions and to facilitate the revival of economic activities which have been seriously disrupted by the prevailing disturbances. I am deeply committed to the implementation of that accord and in pursuance of the functions with which the people entrusted me and which I am assuming, I will take the necessary measures to promulgate the ensuing decisions.

Under the constitution, I am the custodian of the state's continued existence, and as such, I am duty bound to draw the attention of the national conference to the fact that a decision made in violation of the fundamental principles of democracy would be devoid of any legitimacy and endanger the ongoing national reconciliation.

Mr. Chairman, please accept my highest regards!

[Signed] General Gnassingbe Eyadema.

#### Further on National Conference

AB1108180091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 0615 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] The chairman of the presidium, Monsignor Kpodzro, made a report on the results of his meeting with the head of state on the national conference:

[Begin Kpodzro recording] The day before yesterday, early in the afternoon at 1400, the chairman of the presidium of the sovereign national conference received from Monsignor Dosseh, Archbishop of Lome, a telephone message announcing to him the head of state's desire to meet with him. This meeting took place on Thursday, 8 August at 0750 and ended at about 0900. The delegation of the presidium was made up of the chairman and the second vice chairman. The head of state in person [words indistinct]. From our discussions with the head of state, we note the following points: The head of state expressed his willingness to meet with the presidium chairman in order to have a progress report on the deliberations of the sovereign national conference. He then expressed his concern about the duration of the conference, regarding the problems that it poses for the country. The head of state then expressed his indignation about what he called attacks against his person, notably concerning his so-called personal fortune. He called for the setting up of a commission of enquiry into his personal fortune [applause].

The delegation of the presidium made to the head of state, a progress report on the state of deliberations and informed him about the timetable of the remaining deliberations of the sovereign national conference, as was adopted by the plenary assembly on Wednesday, 7 August 1991. Concerning the time allotted for addresses, the chairman of the presidium insisted on the need for the people to vent their rancor after 24 years of silence, so that reconciliation can be possible after a showdown.

Mssr. Kpodzro then stressed the need for the presence of the head of state and the Army at the sovereign national conference for a true dialogue among all the sons of our country. In this regard, he recalled the humility of Pope Pius XII and read to the head of state the testament of this pope who, despite his role which we all know well, at the end of his life, felt the need to ask for everyone's pardon.

Concerning the creation of the commission called for by the head of state to probe into his personal fortune, the presidium reminded the head of state that he had every right to reply and expressed its readiness to receive in this regard a letter from him that will be submitted to the sovereign national conference. The meeting ended at about 0900. Issued in Lome on 8 August 1991. The chairman of the presidium. [end recording]

#### National Conference To Last Until 24 August

AB1008111091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 1230 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] [Words indistinct] agenda, the general debates at the national conference started with discussions on human rights violations and the decision to extend the national conference deliberations until 24 August. Deliberations continued in the various commissions this morning. This afternoon, the delegates will again hold general debates.

Meanwhile, the Togolese Armed and Security Forces yesterday pledged their total support for the ongoing democratic process jointly initiated by the government and the opposition in line with the 12 June 1991 accord.

#### Paracommando Unit on Accusations of Killings

AB1108143191 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche  
Network in French 0615 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Communique issued by the Paracommando Force of the Togolese Armed Forces, FAT, in Lome on 10 August—reader not identified]

[Text] Enough is enough. When a lie is enormous it rather tends to [word indistinct] the reality. It lashes back at its initiator and cast doubts on the credibility of the rabble rouser. This is what happened to Lawyer Dovi, chairman of the National Commission for Human Rights [CNDH]. Indeed, the stage craft and one-man show [preceding two words in English] that Lawyer Dovi sought to indulge in regarding the deaths of the Be Lagoon, using the accounts of alleged (?actors)—whom he prepared for the purpose—inflicted a damaging discredit on the CNDH from which the people expected an objective, impartial, and serious report backed by irrefutable evidence.

Even though the report itself does contain a few elements which manifest the nature and circumstances in which the Be Lagoon tragedy occurred, the stage craft that was prepared so as to amplify this affair had a completely negative effect. [Word indistinct] the witnesses invited to exaggerate the events and authenticate them were poorly trained and were unable to play the role that the CNDH expected of them.

For this reason, we, the paracommandos, who took an active part in the task of maintaining law and order where the incidents occurred, wish hereby to register a categorical denial to Paracommando Amedeyator's account, which was nothing but a string of lies. The evidence that he was supposed to show to back his incoherent accusations, caused doubts in the minds of the Togolese and greatly annoyed the FAT, for no soldier of the Paracommando Force could commit the atrocities narrated by this unworthy (?member) of the FAT who, in

an attempt to accuse his brothers in arms, accused himself by revealing the ignoble acts which he himself committed, thereby disobeying the instructions of his superiors.

As this is not the first time Lawyer Dovi is seeking to manipulate the people's trust, the stage craft does not come as a surprise to us. We, paracommandos, maintain the hope that the truth will ultimately triumph and that light will be shed on this affair.



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